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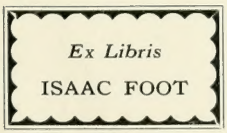
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PREFACE.

THE work which forms the greater part of this volume is in some respects a thing unique in literature. Its author, Count Hartig, a Conservative Austrian statesman, honoured by the confidence of his sovereign, professes to expound the causes of the revolution which lately shook the empire to its foundations. In so doing, he criticises the course of the Imperial administration with a freedom unexampled by any public writer of his class and country; for, except during the chaotic times of 1848 and 1849, it has always been a rule with the Austrian Government to discountenance all comments on its own proceedings, whether on the part of friends or opponents. The work thus singularly characterized is executed with great ability, and must always be valued by the political inquirer as an authoritative exposition of the momentous crisis to which it relates, as seen from an Austrian point of view. It produced an extraordinary excitement when first published, and went through several editions with great rapidity.

The work has been translated in compliance with the advice and desire of a most distinguished personage, and is presented as a valuable appendix to Coxe's "History of the House of Austria," already published in the Standard Library. Prefixed is an original epitome of the history of the empire, embracing the period from the accession of the Emperor Francis I. to the close of the war in Hungary, in 1849. In the compilation of this portion of the volume reference has been made to the best and most recent authorities, both English and foreign.

WALTER K. KELLY.

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EPITOME OF THE HISTORY OF AUSTRIA,

From the Accession of Francis II. to the Close of the Revolution of 1848–9.

CHAPTER I.

The First War with France. 1792–1797.

A FEW days after his accession to the throne, the Emperor Francis received the reply of France to the note addressed to that power by the Emperor Leopold shortly before his death. Some further negotiations and mutual recriminations ensued; and the ultimatum of Austria was, that the monarchy should be re-established on the footing on which it had been placed by the royal ordinance of June, 1789; that the property of the Church in Alsace should be restored; the fiefs of that province, with the seignorial rights, given back to the German princes, and Avignon with the Venaisin to the Pope. These propositions were rejected; and on the 20th of April the unfortunate Louis XVI. took the fatal step to which he was urged alike by his friends, his ministers, and his enemies. He repaired to the National Assembly, and with a tremulous voice proposed that war should be declared against the King of Hungary and Bohemia. The proposal was almost unanimously adopted, many of the most enlightened members of the Assembly voting for it even against their own convictions.

Hostilities began on the 28th of April with an attempted invasion of Flanders, in which the French were ignominiously routed at every point, their undisciplined troops flying at the first discharge, or even before a shot was fired. Had the Austrian forces in Flanders been more efficiently commanded, they might have marched with ease to Paris, and terminated the war in the first campaign. As it was,

the extreme facility with which they had repelled the invaders had the injurious effect of inspiring the Austrians and their allies with an overweening contempt for their opponents—a thing which is always dangerous in war.

Meanwhile the Austrian and Prussian forces were slowly assembling on the frontier, and on the 20th of June the duke of Brunswick, the commander in chief, established his headquarters at Coblentz. The king of Prussia joined the army on the 29th of July, and on that day the duke of Brunswick reluctantly issued what he justly termed "that deplorable manifesto," in which he was made to declare, among other things, his intention to level Paris with the ground, should the French refuse to submit to the authority of their sovereign. Instead of being terror-struck by this manifesto, the French were only maddened with rage; they deposed and imprisoned their king, and flew to arms for the defence of their territory. Crossing the French frontier on the 30th of July, the allied army advanced with a slowness and circumspection strangely inconsistent with the tenour of the manifesto and with their professed certainty of conquest. At last the fortress of Longwy was invested; it capitulated on the 23rd of August; after another unaccountable delay, siege was laid to Verdun, which surrendered on the 2nd of September, and there now remained no fortified place in a state of defence on the road to Paris, nor an army capable of offering even a momentary resistance. The French were without a commander, General Lafayette having been compelled to seek refuge from the violence of his own soldiers within the Austrian lines; and Dumourier, his successor, had only 25,000 men to oppose to more than four times as many invaders. But he out-manœuvred the duke of Brunswick in the field, and made him the dupe of secret negotiations, having for their ostensible object the recognition of the constitutional throne by the French general, and the junction of his army with the invading force. In this way Dumourier gained time to collect considerable reinforcements, and to unite his forces to those of Kellermann from Metz. The two armies came within sight of each other at Valmy; the king gave orders for battle, and the Prussians were in the act of advancing against the heights occupied by Kellermann, when the duke

suddenly gave orders to halt. A vigorous cannonade on both sides terminated the affair, and the superb columns of the Prussians were drawn off at night without firing a shot. This drawn battle produced upon the invaders the effects of a disastrous defeat; for the French it was the inauguration of that career of victory which carried their armies to Vienna and the Kremlin. Negotiations now proceeded with increased spirit; and the result was, that in the end of October the allies evacuated France, abandoning the fortresses they had won, and having lost more than a fourth of their numbers by dysentery and fever, without any considerable fighting.

Meanwhile other operations had been going on in Alsace and the Netherlands. The French were routed near Bruillé with great loss by Archduke Albert, who then laid siege to Lisle and bombarded it. But the retreat of the Prussians enabled Dumourier to fall with his whole force upon the archduke, whom he defeated at Jemappes (Nov. 6), and the whole of the Netherlands fell into the hands of the Jacobins. Another French army under General Custine, on the Upper Rhine, took possession of Mayence, the key to the western provinces of the empire (Oct. 21).

Such was the disastrous result of the first campaign. On the very day of the cannonade at Valmy, the republic was proclaimed and royalty abolished in France. The victory of Jemappes was immediately followed by a decree of the Convention, "promising fraternity and succour to every people who were disposed to recover their liberty;" and this by another, declaring that the French nation would "treat as enemies the people who, refusing or renouncing liberty and equlitay, are desirous of preserving their prince and privileged castes, or of entering into an accommodation with them." Lastly, the revolution attained its climax by the execution of Louis XVI. on the 21st of January, 1793.

The first great coalition against France was now formed, with England at its head; whilst at the same time the land was rent by civil war, both la Vendée and a large portion of the south of France, including the great city of Lyons, having risen in support of the royal family. The English attacked France by sea, and made a simultaneous descent on the

northern and southern coasts. The Spanish and Portuguese troops crossed the Pyrenees; the Italian princes invaded the Alpine boundary; Austria, Prussia, Holland, and the German empire threatened the Rhenish frontier; whilst Sweden and Russia stood frowning in the back-ground. In Sardinia the arms of the republic were engaged in aggressive hostilities. The whole of Christian Europe was combined in arms against France.

The Austrian army in the Netherlands was commanded by Prince Coburg, and that on the Upper Rhine by Count Wurmser. The duke of Brunswick commanded the Prussians; and the duke of York besieged Dunkirk with an army of 37,000 English, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Austrians. Dumourier, who was disgusted with the rule of the Jacobins, and openly avowed his intention of overthrowing the Convention, suffered himself to be defeated at Aldenhoven and Neerwinden, and the French were obliged to abandon all their conquests in Flanders. Finally, Dumourier deserted to the Austrians. Valenciennes and Condé were besieged and taken possession of (July 13) in the name of the emperor of Austria, as acquisitions to be permanently retained by the conqueror. This act was in accordance with a resolution adopted at Antwerp by a congress of the ministers of the allied powers, by which the object of the war was totally altered. On the 5th of April, Coburg issued a proclamation, wherein he said:—"I declare that our only object is to restore to France its constitutional monarch, with the means of rectifying such experienced abuses as may exist. . . . . I declare, on my word of honour, that I enter on the French territory without any intention of making conquests, but solely and entirely for the above-mentioned purposes. I declare also, on my word of honour, that if military operations should lead to any place of strength being placed in my hands, I shall regard it in no other light than as a *sacred deposit*," &c. After the Congress of Antwerp, Coburg issued another proclamation, revoking the former one, and announcing that he should prosecute the war with the utmost vigour—that is to say, as a war of aggrandisement. No step in the early stages of the war was ever attended with more unfortunate consequences. It

sowed divisions among the allies as much as it united its enemies. From the moment Prussia saw her rival's power augmented by such an acquisition as Condé and Valenciennes, she secretly resolved to paralyse all further operations of her arms, and to withdraw, as soon as decency would permit her, from a contest, in which success seemed more to be dreaded than defeat. The Convention, on the other hand, turning to the best account this announcement of intended conquest, succeeded in inspiring a degree of unanimity in defence of their country, which they never could have effected had the allies confined themselves to the original objects of the war.

The French army under Custine, which had shut itself up within the camp of Cæsar, was attacked and driven from its trenches (August 8) with so much ease, that the rout could hardly be called a battle. So precipitate was the flight of the French, that, as at the Battle of the Spurs three centuries before, hardly a shot was fired or a stroke given before the whole army was dissolved. The allies, in great force, were now grouped within one hundred and sixty miles of the dismayed capital of France ; fifteen days would have brought them, without impediment, to its gates. But instead of improving their advantages, the Austrians temporised, as the Prussians had done in the former campaign, and allowed the French to rally and act on the offensive. Houchard defeated the English at Hondscoten on the 8th of September, and raised the siege of Dunkirk ; and Jourdan drove the Austrians off the field at Wattigny the day on which the French queen was beheaded. Although the Austrians had maintained their ground on every other point, Coburg resolved to make a general retreat, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the youthful Archduke Charles, who had greatly distinguished himself in the campaign.

Mayence was retaken by the Prussians (July 22), after a siege of four months. The Austrians under Wurmser stormed the lines of Weissenburg, and advanced to Hagenau. The duke of Brunswick defeated the French general Hoche at Kaiserslautern. But the army of the Rhine under Pichegru, and the army of the Moselle under Hoche, now effected a junction, and the Prussians and Austrians were signally

defeated at Worth and Freschweiler, and compelled to retreat across the Rhine, the left bank of which was thus lost to Germany. The duke of Brunswick resigned the command of the army to Mollendorf, who fought one successful battle with the French at Kaiserslautern (May 25th, 1794), but thenceforth remained inactive. The Prussians and the Estates of the Empire were tired of the war, and left Austria to bear the burden of it alone.

The war declared by France against Sardinia had resulted in leaving the French masters of Nice at the close of the year 1792. In the following year, hostilities were resumed between the Piedmontese army, reinforced by 10,000 Austrians and the republicans, but no decisive battle was fought. The insurrection of Lyons afforded the Piedmontese a golden opportunity of establishing themselves in the south of France, but they neglected it, and the campaign terminated, after an ephemeral success, in their ultimate disgrace.

The emperor Francis visited the Netherlands in person in the spring of 1794, with the intention of marching straightway on Paris. But this was now become impracticable since the defection of the Prussians. The French remarked on this occasion: "The allies are ever an idea, a year, and an army behind-hand." The Austrians, nevertheless, attacked the whole French line in March, and were at first victorious on every side; at Catillon, where Kray and Wernek distinguished themselves, and at Landrecis, where the Archduke Charles made a brilliant charge at the head of the cavalry. Landrecis was taken, but this was all. Clairfait, being left unsupported by the British, was attacked singly at Kortryk by Pichegru, and forced to yield to superior numbers. Coburg fought an extremely bloody but undecisive battle of eighteen hours' duration at Tournay, where Pichegru ever opposed fresh masses to the Austrian artillery. 20,000 dead strewed the field. The emperor, discouraged by the coldness displayed by the Dutch, whom he had expected to see rise *en masse* in his cause, returned to Vienna. The Austrian troops were now greatly dispirited; and on the 26th of June, Prince Coburg was defeated at Fleurus by General Jourdan; and the duke of York soon afterwards at Breda by Pichegru. All Flanders was now in the hands of the French; and Pichegru, pur-

suing his victorious career, invaded Holland, which, before the close of the year, was transformed into a Batavian republic. In this year, also, the republicans carried Mount Cenis, and before the end of May were masters of all the passes of the Maritime Alps. During this period the horrors of the French Revolution were at their height; but "the iron rule of terror undoubtedly drew out of the agonies of the state the means of its ultimate deliverance."

Upon the fall of Robespierre in July, 1794, the king of Prussia suddenly abandoned the monarchical cause, and negotiated a separate peace with the Directory, which was concluded at Basle on the 5th of April, 1795. By a secret article of this treaty, Prussia confirmed the French republic in possession of the whole of the left bank of the Rhine, being herself amply indemnified in return at the expense of the petty German States. Hanover and Hesse Cassel participated in the treaty, and were included within the line of demarcation, which France bound herself not to transgress. The countries lying beyond that line, the Netherlands, Holland, and Pfalz Juliers, were abandoned to her; and Austria, kept in check on the Upper Rhine, was powerless in their defence. Spain and Portugal also seceded from the coalition, and made peace with the French republic.

To the lukewarmness of Prussia in the contest with France, more than to any other cause, is to be ascribed the extraordinary success which for some years attended the republican arms. The Berlin cabinet impatiently desired to withdraw its army from the seat of war in the west, in order to accomplish its arrangements with the Empress Catherine for the partition of Poland. At a later period, Austria, too, became an accomplice in that most iniquitous act; and already, as we have seen, she had set her allies an example of that rapacious policy, which was the immediate and fatal cause of their disunion.

Prussia and Russia took upon themselves alone to execute the second dismemberment in Poland, and in October, 1793, the combined troops were, in the first instance, quietly cantoned in the provinces they had seized. On the 3rd of March, in the following year, Kosciusko closed the gates of Cracow, and proclaimed the insurrection. The struggle lasted until

the 10th of October, when Kosciusko was defeated and taken prisoner at Maciowice, in a battle which decided the fate of Poland. After the fall of the hero, who sustained in his single person the fortunes of the republic, nothing but a series of disasters overtook the Poles. The Austrians, taking advantage of the general confusion, entered Gallicia, and occupied the palatinates of Lublin and Sandomier. On the 4th of November, Praga and Warsaw were stormed by Suwarroff, and an atrocious massacre of the inhabitants was committed, which Russia expiated in the conflagration of Moscow. Besides ten thousand Polish soldiers killed in fight, above twelve thousand citizens of every age and sex were put to the sword.

"The partition of Poland, and the scandalous conduct of the states who reaped the fruit of injustice in its fall, have been the frequent subject of just indignation and eloquent complaint from the European historians; but the connection between that calamitous event and the subsequent disasters of the partitioning powers has not hitherto met with due attention. Yet nothing can be clearer than that it was this iniquitous measure which brought all the misfortunes that followed upon the European monarchies; that it was this which opened the gates of Germany to French ambition, and brought Napoleon with his terrible legions to Vienna, Berlin, and the Kremlin. The more the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 are studied, the more clearly does it appear that it was the prospect of obtaining a share in the partition of Poland which paralysed the allied arms, which intercepted and turned aside the legions, which might have overthrown the Jacobin rule, and created that jealousy and division among their rulers, which, more even than the energy of the republicans, contributed to their uniform and astonishing success. Had the redoubtable bands of Catherine been added to the armies of Prussia on the plains of Champagne in 1792, or to those of Austria and England in the fields of Flanders in 1793, not a doubt can remain but that the revolutionary party would have been overcome, and a constitutional monarchy established in France, with the entire concurrence of three-fourths of all the respectable classes in the kingdom, and to the infinite present and future blessing

of the whole inhabitants. Even in 1794, by a cordial co-operation of the Prussian and Austrian forces after the fall of Landrecis, the whole barrier erected by the genius of Vauban might have been captured, and the revolution, thrown back upon its own resources, been permanently prevented from proving dangerous to the liberties of Europe. What then paralysed the allied armies in the midst of such a career of success, and caused the campaign to close under circumstances of such general disaster? The prospect of partitioning Poland, which first retained the Prussian battalions, during the crisis of the campaign, in sullen inactivity on the Rhine, and then led to the precipitate and indignant abandonment of Flanders by the Austrian forces."*

The operations of the allies on the Piedmontese frontier were prosecuted with great vigour in 1795, and at first with signal successs, the French being driven from all their positions in the Maritime Alps. But the campaign ended with the great and decisive victory of Loano, gained by Massena over the Austrians on the 23rd of November.

In the campaign of this year, Mannheim fell by treachery into the hands of the French. Wurmser arrived too late for its relief, but he routed the French forces before it, and took General Oudinot prisoner. Clairfait at the same time, by an able manœuvre, fell unexpectedly on the French force, besieging Mayence, defeated it and raised the siege. Pichegru, who had been called from Holland to take the command of the Upper Rhine, was driven back to the Vosges. Jourdan advanced to his aid from the Lower Rhine, but his van-guard, under Moreau, was defeated at Kreuznach and again at Meissenheim. Mannheim also capitulated to the Austrians. The winter was now far advanced, and both sides willingly concluded an armistice, which all the lesser princes of the empire would gladly have seen converted into a permanent peace; but Austria remained unshaken, and intrepidly prepared for the mighty contest of 1796, being encouraged in her resolution by England, and aided by her with a subsidy of six millions sterling.

The seats of war in 1796 were Germany and Italy. The

* Alison, History of Europe.

Austrian forces were commanded in the former by the Archduke Charles, in the latter by General Beaulieu. The French commanders were Jourdan on the Lower Rhine, Moreau on the Upper Rhine, and Bonaparte in Italy.

Bonaparte was the first to take the field. The Austrian commander had incautiously extended his lines too far, in order to preserve a communication with the English fleet in the Mediterranean. Bonaparte broke them, defeated the Austrians at Montenotte, Millesimo, and Dego, between the 10th and 15th of April; then turning sharply upon the equally attenuated lines of the Piedmontese, he beat them in several engagements, the chief of which took place at Mondovi, between the 19th and 22nd of April. The court of Turin was panic stricken, and immediately submitted to a disadvantageous peace, which was of more service to the French general than many victories.

Having now secured his rear by the treaty with Sardinia, Bonaparte lost no time in pursuing the discomfited remains of Beaulieu's army, which had retired behind the Po in the hope of covering the Milanese territory. He defeated them at Fombio on the 7th and 8th of May; then advancing towards Milan, he effected, on the 10th of May, what he himself, so familiar with carnage, ever afterwards styled "the terrible passage of the bridge of Lodi," and, on the 15th, he made his triumphal entry into the capital of Lombardy. Beaulieu threw twenty battalions of his best troops into Mantua, took up a defensive position along the line of the Mincio; but being driven thence with loss, retired into the Tyrol. The French laid siege to Mantua, the bulwark of Austrian Italy. Wurmser was despatched from the Rhine with 30,000 Austrians for its relief; but instead of advancing with his whole force, he divided it into two columns, which marched by different routes. They were beaten by Bonaparte in detail. Quasdanowich, Wurmser's second in command, was compelled to fall back towards the mountains. He himself entered Mantua on the 1st of August, the French having suddenly raised the siege; and everything seemed to promise him an easy victory over the retiring remains of the enemy. Nevertheless, he sustained a double defeat at Lonato and Castiglione (Aug. 3rd), and being again beaten

at Medola (Aug. 5th), was forced to seek shelter in the Tyrol. Having there received reinforcements, he again advanced in divided columns, one of which, led by Davidovich, was defeated at Roverdo, and the other, under Wurmser himself, near Bassano. Escaping thence with 16,000 men, he shut himself up in Mantua. Meanwhile the Austrians were collecting another army of 40,000 men under Alvinzi, whilst the corps of Davidovich was raised to 18,000. Bonaparte's forces amounted, altogether, to but 42,000 men, 12,000 of whom, under Vaubois, were defeated on the Lavis (Nov. 1st), with the loss of one-third of their number. Bonaparte's position was now become perilous; he himself was defeated (Nov. 11th) at Caldiero, and finding that position too strong to be carried by an attack in front, he resolved to assail it in flank by the village of Arcola. Two desperate actions were fought there on the 15th and 17th of November, in the second of which Alvinzi was defeated. He retired to Vicenza; Davidovich, also, was forced to retreat to the Tyrol, and Mantua was reduced to the last extremity from want of provisions. Alvinzi, again reinforced, returned to its aid, but suffered a fearful defeat at Rivoli, on the 14th of January, 1797; and another Austrian force, under Provera, was compelled to lay down its arms. Mantua capitulated on the 28th of January, and the French were undisputed masters of Italy.

The campaign of 1796 in Germany was not begun until the end of May. The consequences of this delay were fatal to the plans of the Austrians. The French, under Jourdan, crossed the Lower Rhine, and gained some successes; but were attacked by the Archduke Charles on the 16th of June, and forced to cross back again. Just then Moreau effected his passage over the Upper Rhine at Strasburg, and beating the Austrians in several partial engagements, reduced the whole Swabian circle to submission. Jourdan, also, again pushed forward and took Frankfort by bombardment. The archduke, too weak, singly, to encounter the armies of Jourdan and Moreau, sent Wartensleben against the former, and meanwhile drew Moreau after him into Bavaria, where, leaving General Latour with a small corps to keep him in check at Rain on the Lech, he recrossed the Danube at

Ingolstadt with the flower of his army, and hastily advanced against Jourdan, who was thus taken unawares. At Teiningen he surprised and drove back the advanced guard of the French under Bernadotte. He defeated Jourdan with great loss at Amberg on the 24th of August, and again at Würtzburg on the 3rd of September, in a battle which determined the fate of the campaign. The French made a disastrous retreat; and the exasperated peasants rose *en masse*, and hunted down the fugitives.

Meanwhile Moreau, instead of hastening to Jourdan's aid, had continued his advance into Bavaria. This was just what the archduke desired. "Let Moreau advance to Vienna," said he on parting with Latour; "it is of no moment, provided I beat Jourdan." This resolute conduct of the Austrian commander had the desired effect. Moreau was forced to make a retreat, which he executed with consummate skill and firmness. Defeating Latour at Biberach, he led the main body of his army in safety through the deep, narrow gorges of the Höllenthal in the Black Forest, and, after maintaining a final struggle with the archduke at Emmendingen, he effected a passage across the Rhine on the 20th of October, and thus accomplished his memorable retreat with comparatively little loss. The taking of Kehl by the imperialists on the 9th of January, 1797, and of the *tête de pont* of Hüningen on the 1st of February, were the crowning events of this remarkable campaign.

The archduke was now recalled from the Rhine to take the command in Italy. Immense efforts were made to supply the losses which the imperial forces had sustained; it therefore became Bonaparte's policy to anticipate the arrival of the new levies, and, on the 10th of March, all the columns of his army were in motion, across the Alps towards Vienna. Hoche, at the same time, attacked the Lower, and Moreau the Upper Rhine. On the 16th, the French crossed the Tagliamento in face of the imperialists, who were forced to retreat, and thus lost the prestige of a first success. On the 22nd, Massena made himself master of the Col de Tarvis, the crest of the Alps, commanding the passes both to Carinthia and Dalmatia. This important position was won after a terrible conflict, known afterwards as "the battle above the

clouds." The Alps were now passed, and Bonaparte established his head-quarters at Klagenfurth. Meanwhile another French army, under Joubert, had invaded the Tyrol, and though constantly successful in its operations, was yet compelled, by the menacing attitude of the population, to retire upon Bonaparte's main army. Bonaparte himself, too, felt that his own victorious position was highly insecure, since dangers were thickening on his rear, as well as on his flanks and his front; and he was left by the jealousy of the Directory quite unsupported to make his way at the head of 45,000 men into the heart of the Austrian empire. Wisely foregoing, then, all thoughts of dictating peace under the walls of Vienna, he offered terms of accommodation to the Austrian government, whilst, at the same time, he terrified it by the impetuosity with which he pressed upon its retreating forces. Preliminaries were accordingly signed at Leoben on the 18th of April, and a formal peace was concluded at Campo Formio on the 17th of October, 1797.

By this treaty the emperor ceded to France, Flanders, the line of the Rhine, and the Lombard provinces; in compensation for which, he received from the republic the territory of Venice, which had been seized by Bonaparte subsequently to the armistice of Leoben, the archbishopric of Salzburg, and part of Bavaria, with the town of Wasserburg. By this arrangement, Verona, Peschiera, and Porto Legnago fell into the hands of the Austrians, who lost in Flanders and Lombardy provinces, rich indeed but distant, inhabited by 3,500,000 souls, and received in the Venetian states a territory of equal riches, with a great seaport and 3,400,000 souls, lying close to the hereditary states, besides an acquisition of nearly the same amount, which they had made during the war, on the side of Poland. The advantages of the treaty, therefore, how great soever to the conquerors, were in some degree also extended to the vanquished.

The object of these concessions on the victor's part was to render implacable Prussia's ancient jealousy of Austria. Hence the secret articles, by which it was expressly provided that "no acquisition should be proposed to the advantage of Prussia." A convention was appointed to meet at Rastadt, to provide equivalents on the right bank of the Rhine for

the princes dispossessed on the left, and otherwise to settle the affairs of the empire. The ecclesiastical property in the interior of Germany was secularised, and apportioned among the estates that required indemnification.

The fall of Venice, and the iniquitous confiscation of the independence she had maintained for fourteen hundred years, demand more than a passing notice. "In contemplating this memorable event," says a writer strongly biassed in favour of Austria, "it is difficult to say whether most indignation is to be felt at the perfidy of France, the cupidity of Austria, the weakness of the Venetian aristocracy, or the insanity of the Venetian people. For the conduct of Napoleon no possible apology can be found. He first excited the revolutionary spirit to such a degree in all the Italian possessions of the republic, at the very time that his troops were fed and clothed by the bounty of its government, that disturbances became unavoidable, and then aided the rebels, and made the efforts of the government to crush the insurrection the pretext for declaring war against the state. He then excited to the uttermost the democratic spirit in the capital, took advantage of it to paralyse the defences, and overturn the government of the country; established a new constitution on a highly popular basis, and signed a treaty on the 16th of May in Milan, by which, on payment of a heavy ransom, he agreed to maintain the independence of Venice under its new and revolutionary government. Having thus committed all his supporters in the state irrevocably in the cause of freedom, and got possession of the capital, as that of an allied and friendly power, he plundered it of everything valuable it possessed; and then united with Austria in partitioning the republic, took possession of one half of its territories for France and the Cisalpine republic, and handed over the other half, with the capital and its ardent democrats, to the most aristocratic government in Europe.

"The conduct of Austria, if less perfidious, was not less a violation of every principle of public right. Venice, though long wavering and irresolute, was at length committed in

* Alison, History of Europe, vol. vi.

open hostilities with the French republic. She had secretly nourished the imperial as well as the republican forces; she had given no cause of offence to the allied powers; she had been dragged, late indeed and unwillingly, but irrevocably, into a contest with the republican forces; and if she had committed any fault, it was in favour of the cause in which Austria was engaged. Generosity in such circumstances would have prompted a noble power to lend the weight of its influence in favour of its unfortunate neighbour. Justice forbade that it should do anything to aggravate its fate. But to share in its spoliation, to seize upon its capital, and extinguish its existence, is an act of rapacity for which no apology can be offered, and which must for ever form a foul stain on the Austrian annals."

CHAPTER II.

The Second War with France. 1798–1804.

THE peace of Campo Formio was not of a nature to promise long duration, and it was rendered untenable by the events which immediately followed it. In 1798 and 1799, Switzerland was subdued by the French, and converted into a Helvetic republic; and thus was the great barrier thrown down that had protected the Austrian frontiers on the side next France. The whole of Italy, with the exception of the Venetian territory and Naples, was subjected directly or indirectly to the French government. The conduct of the French envoys at Rastadt had excited among the Germans a universal feeling of indignation and hatred, which burst forth during a popular tumult in Vienna, when the tricolour, floating from the palace of General Bernadotte, the French ambassador, was torn down and burnt. A worse violation of the law of nations was also perpetrated during this agitated period, in the murderous assault committed on the French envoys at Rastadt by Austrian hussars, who had been posted in a wood near the city gate to intercept them, on their departure (April 28, 1799). This crime, as Hormayr observes, was at the same time a political blunder. Its

authors, as he informs us, were Thugut and Lehrbach, the rulers of the Austrian cabinet, who had hoped to find on the persons of the envoys documents in the handwriting of the elector of Bavaria, which would give them the means of deposing him as a secret ally of France, and a traitor to the empire. In this, they were wholly disappointed. Two of the envoys were killed; the third was badly wounded, and, with difficulty, saved his life by flight. Criminal as was the conduct of the Austrian ministers on this occasion, it is probable that the useless guilt of assassination did not enter into their designs, though they were morally responsible for the deed committed by their agents.

Austria had, before this event, formed a second coalition with England and Russia. The seizure of Malta by Napoleon, and the dispersion of its knightly order, of which the emperor, Paul I., had been elected grand master, afforded that monarch a pretext for interfering in the affairs of the Levant and Italy. On the 1st of March, 1799, the Ionian Islands were occupied by Russian troops, and a Russian army, under the terrible Suwarroff, moved, in conjunction with the troops of Austria, upon Italy. Disunion prevailed, as usual, in the Austrian military councils. The Archduke Charles proposed the invasion of France from Swabia. The occupation of Switzerland was, however, resolved upon, and General Auffenberg entered the Grisons, whence he was expelled by Massena, after being defeated on the St. Luciensteig; whilst Hotze in the Vorarlberg, and Bellegarde in the Tyrol, remained inactive, at the head of 15,000 men. The simultaneous invasion of Swabia by Jourdan now induced the military council at Vienna to accede to the proposal formerly made by the Archduke Charles, who was despatched with the main body of the army to Swabia, where, on the 26th of March, he gained a complete victory over Jourdan at Ostrach and Stockach, and would have annihilated him in his retreat had he not been restrained by the ill-judged orders of the Aulic Council from advancing to the Rhine, until Switzerland was clear of the enemy. The Grisons were retaken in May by Hotze, and in June, the archduke joining him, Massena was driven from Zurich, and the steep passes of Mount St. Gothard were occupied by the Russian general,

Haddik. Switzerland was relieved from the presence of the French.

This campaign of the Alps was the most remarkable spectacle, in a military point of view, which the revolutionary war had yet exhibited. From the 14th of May to the 6th of June was nothing but one continual combat in a vast field of battle, extending from the snowy summits of the Alps to the confluence of the great streams which flow from their perennial fountains. "Posterity will hardly credit that great armies could be maintained in such a situation, and the same unity of operations communicated to a line extending from Bellinzona to Bâle, across the highest mountains in Europe, as to a small body of men manœuvring on the most favourable ground for military operations. The consumption of human life, during these actions, prolonged for twenty days; the forced marches by which they were succeeded; the sufferings and privations which the troops on both sides endured; the efforts necessary to find provisions for large bodies in those inhospitable regions, in many of which the traveller or the chamois-hunter can often hardly find a footing, combined to render this warfare both the most memorable and the most animating which had occurred since the fall of the Roman empire."

Meanwhile, the French, under Scherer, in Italy, were defeated (April 5), by Kray at Magnano, one of the most glorious battles in the history of the Austrian monarchy; and, thenceforth, they fell from one disaster into another, till they were driven over the Maritime Alps, and expelled from the whole Peninsula, after their defeat in the great battle of Novi, in which Joubert, their commander, was killed, August 15, 1799. Dissensions now broke out between the members of the coalition. The English and the Austrians were both jealous of the presence of the Russians in Italy, where twenty thousand of them, under Suwarroff, had arrived a few days after the battle of Magnano; the consequence was, a new arrangement for the prosecution of the war, in pursuance of which, the archduke moved down the valley of the Rhine to co-operate with an Anglo-Russian force acting in Holland, whilst Suwaroff was to cross the Alps into Switzerland to

the aid of Korsakoff and to involve himself in a mountain warfare, ill suited to the habits of his soldiery. This insane dislocation of the allied forces was commanded by the Aulic Council, in spite of the remonstrances of Archduke Charles, just when Massena was meditating offensive operations. Its immediate consequence was, that the important passes of the St Gothard were again carried by the French; and then Massena, taking advantage of the archduke's departure, beset Korsakoff at Zurich, where he had imprudently stationed himself with his whole army, and pressed him so closely, that, after an engagement that lasted two days, from the 15th to the 17th of September, the Russian general escaped the necessity of laying down his arms only by forcing his way through the enemy, and abandoning all his baggage and artillery. Ten thousand men were all that escaped. Hotze, who had advanced from the Grisons to Schwyz to Suwarroff's rencontre, was at the same time defeated and killed at Schännis. Suwarroff pressed on with desperate impetuosity, bearing down all opposition, and arrived on the 10th of October in the valley of the Rhine, having lost in his extraordinary march the whole of his artillery, almost all his horses, and a third of his men.

The archduke, meanwhile, had taken Philippsburg and Mannheim, but had been unable to prevent the defeat of the English expedition, under the duke of York, by General Brune, at Bergen, on the 19th of September. He now made a retrograde movement, and approached Korsakoff and Suwarroff; but the czar, perceiving his projects frustrated, suddenly recalled his troops, the campaign came to a close, and the coalition was dissolved. The archduke's rear-guard was defeated in a succession of petty skirmishes at Heidelberg and on the Neckar by the French, who again pressed forward. These disasters were counterbalanced by the splendid victory gained by Melas in Italy, at Savigliano, over the French general, Championnet, who attempted in vain to save Genoa.

Meanwhile, Bonaparte had returned from his Egyptian campaign to Paris, overthrown the Directory on the 9th of November (18th Brumaire), bestowed a new constitution on France, and placed himself, under the title of First Consul,

at the head of the republic. One of his first steps was to offer peace to Austria and England, which was rejected by both powers, as he had fully anticipated it would be. He then prepared for war with his usual promptitude. Moreau had the command of the army in Germany, Massena of that in Italy, which Bonaparte himself was about to join at the head of an army of reserve, collected at Dijon.

Austria received from England a subsidy of two millions sterling, and pledged herself not to conclude a separate peace before the 1st of February, 1801. The Archduke Charles, who disapproved of the continuance of the war, was made governor of Bohemia, and superseded in his command of the Austrian forces by Field-Marshal Kray.

With such consummate skill did Bonaparte mask the movements of his army of reserve, as to make its very existence matter for derisive incredulity at Vienna; nor were the Austrians undeceived until he had astounded them by his presence in Lombardy, after a stupendous march of thirteen days across the Great St. Bernard. Genoa, garrisoned by Massena, had just been forced by famine to capitulate. Ten days afterwards, on the 14th of June, Bonaparte gained such a decisive victory over Melas at Marengo, that he, and the remains of his army, capitulated on the following day. The whole of Italy fell once more into the hands of the French. Moreau had at the same time invaded Germany, and defeated Kray in several engagements, principally at Stockach and Möskirch, and again at Biberach and Hochstädt, laid Swabia and Bavaria under contribution, and taken Ratisbon, the seat of the diet. The Austrians were now threatened with invasion of the Hereditary States, in their most vulnerable quarter, the valley of the Danube, when, fortunately for them, the truce which had been concluded at Alexandria, after the battle of Marengo, was extended to Germany, under the appellation of the armistice of Parsdorf (July 15). Overtures were now made for peace between France on the one side, and Great Britain and Austria on the other, but proved abortive, and hostilities recommenced at all points, in the end of November.

The command of the Austrian army had been taken from Kray, and given to the Archduke John, a young man of

ghteen, with Lauer, the grand master of artillery, for his adviser. On the 27th of November, he quitted his position on the line of the Inn, and, advancing into Bavaria, surprised Moreau's army, on the march, and drove it back in extreme confusion. But, instead of vigorously pursuing the immense advantages thus offered to him, he suffered Moreau to retire, on the 1st of December, to Hohenlinden, and to spend all the next day in concentrating his scattered forces. On the 3rd the Austrians were defeated, with immense loss, in the tremendous battle of Hohenlinden, more momentous even than that of Marengo, in its military consequences. The shattered remains of the imperial army retreated behind the Inn, disasters still tracking their footsteps. The Archduke Charles, whom the unanimous cries of the nation now summoned to the post of danger, burst into tears, when, instead of the proud battalions he had led to victory at Stockach and Zurich, he beheld only a confused mass of infantry, cavalry, and artillery covering the roads: the bands of discipline were broken; the soldiers neither grouped round their colours, nor listened to the voice of their officers; desertion and despair were painted in every countenance. His heroic efforts to remedy the disorder were unavailing. The rout of the rear-guard, under Prince Schwartzenberg, with the loss of twelve hundred men, compelled him to solicit an armistice, which, after some hesitation, was signed by Moreau on the 25th. At the same time, the fate of the Italian campaign was determined, by the defeat of the imperialists at the passage of the Mincio (December 26). These disasters once more inclined Austria to peace, which was concluded at Luneville on the 9th of February, 1801. The Archduke Charles seized this opportunity to propose the most beneficial reforms in the war administration, but his councils were again treated with contempt. In the ensuing year, England also concluded peace at Amiens.

The Emperor Francis was compelled to sign the treaty of Luneville "not only as emperor of Austria, but in the name of the German empire." But by a fundamental law of the empire, the emperor could not bind the electors and states, of which he was the head, without either their concurrence, or express powers to that effect, previously conferred. The

want of such powers had rendered inextricable the separate interests referred to the congress of Rastadt; but Napoleon, whose impatient disposition could not brook such formalities, insisted that the emperor should now act as if he possessed the powers in question; leaving him to vindicate such a step as he best could to the princes and states of the imperial confederacy. This the emperor did in a dignified letter, in which, after premising that he had been compelled to sign as head of the empire without any title to do so, he added: "But, on the other hand, the consideration of the melancholy situation in which at that period a large part of Germany was placed, the prospect of the still more calamitous fate with which the superiority of the French menaced the empire if the peace was any longer deferred; in fine, the general wish which was loudly expressed in favour of an instant accommodation, were so many powerful motives which forbade me to refuse the concurrence of my minister to this demand of the French plenipotentiary." Touched by this appeal from the first monarch in Christendom, thus compelled to throw himself on his subjects for forgiveness of a step which he could not avoid, the Diet of the empire promptly gave the treaty of Luneville their solemn ratification, grounded on the extraordinary situation in which the emperor was then placed.

By the peace of Luneville, France was left in possession of the whole left bank of the Rhine. The petty republics, formerly established by her in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, were also renewed and recognized. The Adige became the boundary of Austria on the Italian side. The Cisalpine republic was enlarged by the possessions of the grand duke of Tuscany, and of the duke of Modena, to whom compensation in Germany was guaranteed. This question of compensation, which had been opened at the congress of Rastadt, was resumed, and finally settled by a decree of the Imperial Diet, on the 25th of February, 1803. The three spiritual electorates, Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, were abolished, their position west of the Rhine including them in the French territory. The archbishop of Mayence alone retained his dignity, and was transferred to Ratisbon. The imperial free cities were deprived of their privileges, six alone excepted,

Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfort, Augsburg, and Nuremberg. The unsecularised bishopries and abbeys were abolished. The petty princes, counts and barons, and the Teutonic order were still allowed to exist, only to be included one long in the general ruin. To the share of Prussia fell the bishopries of Hildesheim and Paderborn, a part of Münster, and numerous abbeys and imperial free towns in Westphalia and Thuringia. The compensations allotted to Bavaria laid the foundation of her present greatness. Those assigned to Austria were as follows: Ferdinand, duke of Modena, the emperor's uncle, obtained the Breisgau in exchange for his duchy; Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany, the emperor's brother, received Salzburg, Eichstädt, and Passau, in exchange for his hereditary possessions. The Archduke Anthony became Grand Master of the Teutonic order.

The decision of the Diet with respect to the apportionment of all these compensations was made in entire subservience to France and Russia, which powers acted in perfect concert with each other, and with the acquiescence of Prussia, whose share of the indemnities amounted to more than four times what she had lost on the left bank of the Rhine. Austria, the power best entitled to a preponderating share in the negotiation, was very little consulted; "and thus did Russia and Prussia unite with the First Consul in laying the foundation of that Confederation of the Rhine, from which, as a hostile outwork, he was afterwards enabled to lead his armies to Jena, Friedland, and the Kremlin."*

Meanwhile vast preparations had been made on both sides of the channel for a renewal of hostilities between France and England, which began with the conquest of Hanover by the French (May, 1803). Naples was simultaneously invaded by French troops. Dissensions had already arisen between the Emperor Alexander and the First Consul, and these were further exasperated by the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, who was seized on the neutral territory of Baden, carried to the fortress of Vincennes, and there shot on the 21st of March. This atrocious deed, which was not less impolitic

* Alison, History of Europe.

than criminal, gave an immense impulse to the fermenting elements of a coalition against France.

Such was the state of things in Europe, when, on the 18th of May, a decree of the French senate declared Napoleon Emperor of the French. Instead of testifying any repugnance at this step, the Austrian cabinet had the address to use it as the long-sought opportunity for a similar measure on their own part; and on the 11th of August, 1804, after the Emperor Francis, in a full council, had recognized the title of the Emperor Napoleon, he assumed for himself and his successors in the Austrian dominions, the title of "Emperor of Austria."

CHAPTER III.

First War with the French Empire to the Extinction of the Holy Roman Empire. 1805–1806.

On the 11th of April, 1805, an alliance was formed between England and Russia, for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of France. Austria and Sweden joined the coalition some months later. Prussia held aloof, in the hope of receiving Hanover as a reward for her neutrality. Baden, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria, sided with France.

Deceived by the vast efforts which Napoleon was ostensibly making for the invasion of England, Austria broke ground on the 9th of September, crossed the Inn, overran Bavaria, and took post in the Black Forest. Meanwhile the camp at Boulogne had been broken up, and the troops composing it arrived on the Rhine, from the 17th to the 23rd of the same month. The Russian troops had been refused a passage through the Prussian territory. The precipitance of the Aulic council, in forcing on hostilities before their arrival, was the ruin of the campaign. Napoleon sent orders to Bernadotte, who was stationed in Hanover, to cross the neutral Prussian territory of Anspach, without demanding the permission of Prussia, so as to form a junction with the Bavarian troops in the rear of the Austrians. Other corps were, at the same time, directed by circuitous routes upon the flanks of the Austrian army, which was assailed with

disastrous success at Haslach on the 11th of October, defeated with loss at Memmingen on the 13th, by Soult, and totally by Ney at Elchingen on the 14th. The Archduke Ferdinand, alone, succeeded in fighting his way, with a part of the cavalry, through the enemy. Mack, the commander-in-chief, who had stupidly suffered himself to be thus surrounded and entrapped, shut himself up in Ulm, but was forced to surrender on the 20th. With him 60,000 Austrians, the élite of the army, fell into the hands of the enemy. Napoleon could scarcely spare a sufficient number of men to escort this enormous crowd of prisoners to France. General Werneck, who had been detached from Ulm, was also compelled to surrender at Trochtelfingen with 8,000 men.

The blame of these disasters was wholly laid by the Austrian government on General Mack; he was subjected to a court of inquiry, and condemned to twenty years' imprisonment in consequence. Upon the conclusion of the war, Napoleon interceded for him, but in vain. But, as Alison justly remarks, although this unfortunate general was obviously inadequate to the difficult task imposed upon him of commanding a great army, which was to combat Napoleon, and although he evidently lost his judgment and unnecessarily agreed to a disgraceful abridgment of the period of the capitulation at the close of the negotiations, yet the whole disasters of the campaign are not to be visited on his head. The improvidence of the imperial government, the faults of the Aulic Council, have much also to answer for. Mack's authority was not firmly established in the army; the great name of the Archduke Ferdinand overshadowed his influence; the necessity of providing for the safety of a prince of the imperial house overbalanced every other consideration, and compelled, against his judgment, that division of the troops to which the unexampled disasters that followed may be immediately ascribed. It is reasonable to impute to the unfortunate general extreme improvidence in remaining so long at Ulm, when Napoleon's legions were closing round him, and great weakness of judgment, to give it no severer name, in afterwards capitulating without trying some great effort, with concentrated forces, to effect his escape. But there appears no reason to suppose, as the

Austrian government did, that he wilfully betrayed their interests to Napoleon; and it is to be recollected, in extenuation of his faults, that his authority, controlled by the Aulic Council, was in some degree shared with an assembly of officers, which, it is proverbially known, never adopts a bold resolution; and that he was at the head of troops habituated to the discreditable custom of laying down their arms, on the first reverse, in large bodies.

The Aulic Council, which had begun offensive operations in Germany with the weaker of their two great armies, obliged the stronger of them, under Archduke Charles, to remain on the defensive in Italy, in presence of inferior forces, whilst they retained 20,000 men in useless inactivity in the Tyrol, where as yet there was no enemy to combat. After Mack's surrender, Napoleon, with his usual rapidity, marched with his main body straight upon Vienna, whilst he despatched Ney into the Tyrol, where the peasantry, headed by the Archduke John, made an heroic defence. The advanced guard of the French, composed of the Bavarians under Deroy, made a successful irruption on the eastern frontier, and blockaded Kuffstein. Augereau threatened Feldkirch, whilst Ney carried the mountain entrenchment of Schaarnitz by storm, and reached Innsbruck, where he captured sixteen thousand stand of arms. The Archduke John was compelled to retire to Carinthia, in order to form a junction with his brother Charles, who, after beating Massena at Caldiero, had been necessitated by Mack's defeat to hasten from Italy for the purpose of covering Austria. Two corps, left in the hurry of retreat too far westward, were cut off and taken prisoners, that under Prince Rohan at Castelfranco, after having found its way from Meran into the Venetian territory, and that under Jellachich on the lake of Constance. Kensky's and Wartenleben's cavalry threw themselves boldly into Swabia and Franconia, seized the couriers and convoys to the French rear, and escaped unhurt to Bohemia.

A new enemy was meanwhile rising up against Napoleon. Bernadotte's march through Anspach, in violation of the Prussian territory, had given deep offence to the court of Berlin, and exasperated its subjects in the highest degree.

At that crisis the Emperor Alexander arrived at Berlin, and exerted all his influence to induce the king to adopt a more manly and courageous policy. Alexander was warmly seconded by the queen of Prussia; French influence rapidly declined in the capital; Duroc left it on the 2nd of November, without having been able to obtain an audience for some days previously either from the king or the emperor; and on the following day a secret convention was signed between the two monarchs for the regulation of the affairs of Europe, and the erection of a barrier against the ambition of the French emperor. By this convention it was stipulated that the treaty of Luneville was to be taken as the basis of the arrangement, and all the acquisitions which France had since made were to be wrested from it: Switzerland and Holland were to be restored to their independence, and, without overturning the kingdom of Italy, it was to be merely agreed that its throne and that of France were never to be occupied by the same person. The Prussian minister, Haugwitz, was to be entrusted with the notification of this convention to Napoleon, with authority, in case of its acceptance, to offer a renewal of the former friendship and alliance of the Prussian nation; but in case of refusal, to declare war, with an intimation that hostilities would be commenced on the 15th of December. But before that day came the opportunity was lost. After Alexander's departure, Prussia relapsed into her old temporising habits; her armies made no forward movement towards the Danube, and Napoleon was permitted to continue, without interruption, his advance to Vienna; while eighty thousand disciplined veterans remained inactive in Silesia—a force amply sufficient to have thrown him back with disgrace and disaster to the Rhine.

Napoleon continued his advance, and on the 5th of November established his head quarters at Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria. He had with him, marching in one body, at least two-thirds of his whole army of 150,000 men, whilst the whole allied force between him and Vienna, including the Russians under Kutusoff, might be reckoned at about 65,000. A bloody conflict took place on the same day at Amstetten with the rear guard of the Russians, who,

though overpowered by numbers, maintained their ground long enough to allow their main body to arrive at the important rocky ridge behind St. Polten, the last defensive position in front of Vienna. Kutusoff, however, finding that position untenable, skillfully withdrew his whole army to the left bank of the Danube, and broke down behind him the bridge at Mautern, the only one which crosses the river between Lintz and Vienna. On the 10th, an Austrian corps, under Meerveldt, was routed, with the loss of 3,000 prisoners, by Davoust, at Mariazell. But the advanced guard of the French being hurried forward too precipitately by Murat, afforded Kutusoff an advantageous opportunity for attacking the French corps under Mortier, which was next in advance. A desperate action was fought at Dürenstein (Nov. 11); Mortier's corps was with difficulty saved from total destruction, and Napoleon's plans for the campaign were for a moment disconcerted. Nothing, however, could avert the humiliation of Vienna. The Austrians had neglected to break down the city bridge: it was seized by stratagem; Vienna was taken, and Napoleon established his head quarters at Schönbrunn.

Kutusoff's finesse and Bagration's heroic stand at Hollabrunn, with 8,000 Russians against five times their number of assailants, enabled the allied forces to effect a junction on the 19th, at Wischau, in Moravia. Napoleon's situation was now becoming critical. The necessity of guarding so many points, and keeping up a communication from Vienna to the Rhine, had greatly reduced his army; the Archduke Charles, with 80,000 tried veterans, was rapidly approaching from the south; the Hungarian insurrection was organizing in the east; 75,000 Russians and Austrians were in front of him; while Prussia was threatening a descent from Silesia, with 80,000 men, on his communications with the Rhine. Resolving, therefore, to strike a decisive blow, he selected for the scene of action the field of Austerlitz, where, on the 2nd of December, in presence of two rival emperors, he achieved the most illustrious of all his victories. It was followed by the peace of Presburg (Dec. 26), which Austria purchased at an enormous sacrifice. She ceded to Bavaria, now erected into a kingdom, the whole of the Tyrol, Vorarlberg and

Lindau, Burgau, Passau, Eichstadt, Trent and Brixen, besides several petty lordships: to Wurtemberg, likewise become a kingdom, the bordering Austrian dominions in Swabia: to Baden, the Breisgau, the Ortenau, and Constance: to the emperor of the French and king of Italy, the Venetian territory, Dalmatia, Albania, &c. She had to pay, moreover, a war contribution of four millions sterling. For all these losses, Austria was merely indemnified by the possession of Salzburg and Berchtesgaden. Ferdinand, elector of Salzburg, the former grand duke of Tuscany, was transferred to Wurzburg. Ferdinand of Modena lost the whole of his possessions.

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace of Presburg, Napoleon withdrew his forces, and the Emperor Francis re-entered Vienna, where he was received by his subjects with as much respect and affection as though he had conquered instead of losing so many provinces.

On the 12th of July, 1806, sixteen princes of Western Germany concluded, under Napoleon's direction, a treaty, whereby they separated themselves from the German empire, and founded the so-called Confederation of the Rhine, under the supremacy of the emperor of the French. On the 1st of August, Napoleon declared that he no longer recognised the empire of Germany. No one ventured to oppose his omnipotent voice. On the 6th of August, 1806, the Emperor Francis abdicated the imperial crown of Germany, in a touching address, full of calm dignity and sorrow. The last of the German emperors had shown himself throughout the contest worthy of his great predecessors, and had almost alone sacrificed all in order to preserve the honour of Germany, until, abandoned by the greater part of the German princes, he was compelled to yield to a stronger power. The fall of the empire that had stood the storms of a thousand years was, however, not without dignity. A meaner hand might have levelled the decayed fabric with the dust; but fate, that seemed to honour even the faded majesty of the ancient Cæsars, selected Napoleon as the executioner of her decrees. The standard of Charlemagne, the greatest hero of the first Christian age, was to be profaned by no hand save that of the greatest hero of modern times.*

* Menzel, History of Germany.

CHAPTER IV.

Second War with the French Empire. 1806–1809.

The peace of Presburg was quickly followed by war between France and Prussia, in which the latter suffered a terrible retribution for the selfish and base policy that had induced her to leave Austria unaided in her heroic struggles against the common foe of Europe. Great efforts were made by Prussia's allies, England and Russia, to obtain the co-operation of Austria, but that power prudently adhered to the system of neutrality, which was needful to her after her recent losses. She armed, indeed, and assumed a menacing attitude, during the reverses sustained by the French in the subsequent Polish campaign; but upon the termination of the contest, after the disaster of Friedland, she resumed her pacific attitude.

Meanwhile, the government was not idle. During the whole of 1806 and 1807, the efforts of the Archduke Charles, now at the head of the war department, were incessant, to restore the *matériel* lost in the last campaign, and to remodel the army upon the admirable system adopted by Napoleon. Emboldened by the diversion of a large portion of the French army from Germany, on the breaking out of the Spanish war, the cabinet of Vienna issued a decree on the 9th of June, 1808, instituting a landwehr or militia to be raised by conscription, which soon amounted to 300,000 men, whilst the regular army numbered 350,000.

On receiving decisive intelligence of these hostile preparations, Napoleon returned with extraordinary expedition from Spain to Paris, in January, 1809, and gave orders to concentrate his forces in Germany, and call out the full contingents of the Confederation of the Rhine. Some further time was consumed by the preparations on either side. At last, on the 8th of April, the Austrian troops crossed the frontiers at once on the Inn, in Bohemia, in the Tyrol and in Italy. The whole burthen of the war rested on Austria alone, for Prussia remained neutral, and Russia, now allied to France, was even bound to make a show at least, though it were no more, of hostility to Austria. On the same day

on which the Austrian forces crossed the frontiers, the Tyrol rose in insurrection, and was swept clear of the enemy in four days, with the exception of a Bavarian garrison, that still held out in Kufstein.

The French army was at this time dispersed over a line of forty leagues in extent, with numerous undefended apertures between the corps; so that the fairest possible opportunity presented itself to the Austrians for cutting to pieces the scattered forces of the French, and marching in triumph to the Rhine. As usual, however, the archduke's early movements were subjected to most impolitic delays by the Aulic Council; and time was allowed Napoleon to arrive on the theatre of war (April 17), and repair the faults committed by his adjutant-general, Berthier. He instantly extricated his army from its perilous position—almost cut in two by the advance of the Austrians—and, beginning on the 19th, he beat the latter in five battles on five successive days, at Thann, Abensberg, Landshut, Eckmühl, and Ratisbon. The Archduke Charles retired into Bohemia to collect reinforcements, but General Hiller was, in consequence of the delay in repairing the fortifications of Linz, unable to maintain that place, the possession of which was important, on account of its forming a connecting point between Bohemia and the Austrian Oberland. Hiller, however, at least, saved his honour by pushing forward to the Traun, and in a fearfully bloody encounter at Ebersberg, captured three French eagles, one of his colours alone falling into the enemy's hands. He was, nevertheless, compelled to retire before the superior forces of the French, and crossing over at Krems to the left bank of the Danube, he formed a junction with the Archduke Charles. The way was now clear to Vienna, which, after a slight show of defence, capitulated to Napoleon on the 12th of May.

The Archduke Charles had hoped to reach the capital before the French, and to give battle to them beneath its walls; but as he had to make a circuit whilst the French pushed forward in a direct line, his plan was frustrated, and he arrived, when too late, from Bohemia. Both armies, separated by the Danube, stood opposed to one another in the vicinity of the imperial city. Both commanders were

desirous of coming to a decisive engagement. The French had secured the island of Lobau to serve as a mustering place, and point of transit across the Danube. The archduke allowed them to establish a bridge of boats, being resolved to await them on the Marchfeld. There it was that Rudolph of Habsburg, in the battle against Ottakar, had laid the foundation of the greatness of the house of Austria; and there the political existence of that house and the fate of the monarchy were now to be decided. Having crossed the river, Napoleon was received on the opposite bank, near Aspern and Esslingen, by his opponent, and, after a dreadful battle, that was carried on with unwearied animosity for two days, May 21st and 22nd, 1809, he was completely beaten, and compelled to fly for refuge to the island of Lobau. The rising stream had, meanwhile, carried away the bridge, Napoleon's sole chance of escape to the opposite bank. For two days he remained on the island with his defeated troops, without provisions, and in hourly expectation of being cut to pieces; the Austrians, however, neglected to turn the opportunity to advantage, and allowed the French leisure to rebuild the bridge, a work of extreme difficulty. During six weeks afterwards, the two armies continued to occupy their former positions under the walls of Vienna, on the right and left banks of the Danube, narrowly watching each other's movements, and preparing for a final struggle.

Whilst these events were in progress, the Archduke John had successfully penetrated into Italy, where he had totally defeated the Viceroy Eugene at Salice, on the 16th of April. Favoured by the simultaneous revolt of the Tyrolese, he might have obtained the most decisive results from this victory, but the extraordinary progress of Napoleon down the valley of the Danube rendered necessary the concentration of the whole forces of the monarchy for the defence of the capital. Having begun a retreat, he was pursued by Eugene, and defeated on the Piave, with great loss, on the 8th of May. Escaping thence, without further molestation, to Villach, in Carinthia, he received intelligence of the fall of Vienna, together with a letter from the Archduke Charles, of the 15th of May, directing him to move with all his forces upon Lintz, to act on the rear and communications of

Napoleon. Instead of obeying these orders, he thought proper to march into Hungary, abandoning the Tyrol and the whole projected operations on the Upper Danube to their fate. His disobedience was disastrous to the fortunes of his house, for it caused the fruits of the victory at Aspern to be lost. He might have arrived, with 50,000 men, on the 24th or 25th, at Lintz, where no one remained but Bernadotte and the Saxons, who were incapable of offering any serious resistance. Such a force, concentrated on the direct line of Napoleon's communications, immediately after his defeat at Aspern, on the 22nd, would have deprived him of all means of extricating himself from the most perilous situation in which he had yet been placed since ascending the consular throne.

After totally defeating Jellachich in the valley of the Muhr, Eugene desisted from his pursuit of the army of Italy, and joined Napoleon at Vienna. The Archduke John united his forces at Raab with those of the Hungarian insurrection, under his brother the Palatine. The viceroy again marched against him, and defeated him at Raab on the 14th of June. The Palatine remained with the Hungarian insurrection in Komorn; Archduke John moved on to Presburg.

In the north, the Archduke Ferdinand, who had advanced as far as Warsaw, had been driven back by the Poles under Poniatowsky, and by a Russian force sent by the Emperor Alexander to their aid, which, on this success, invaded Galicia.

On the 11th of May, the Tyrol was invaded by the French in great force under Lefebre, and by the Bavarians under Deroy. Innsbruck was taken on the 19th, and affairs seemed utterly desperate in the mountains; but, on the 28th, the Bavarian garrison was totally defeated by Hofer, Haspinger, and Speckbacher, and the Tyrol was once more swept clear of the invaders.

When Napoleon had completed his means of transit, and obtained strong reinforcements, he again crossed the Danube, and began the attack at Wagram, not far from the battle-ground of Aspern. The conflict lasted two days, the 5th and 6th of July. The object of the Austrian commander was to maintain the fight so long as to give time for the re-

serve under the Archduke John, whom he had summoned from Presburg, to appear on the right flank and the rear of the French. The battle was one of the most tremendous in the annals of war. The Austrians fought with admirable gallantry, lost one of their colours, but captured twelve eagles and standards of the enemy. Their heroic leader was slightly wounded on the first day, whilst rallying one of his battalions. For a day and a half the issue of the conflict continued doubtful, until at last the Austrian left wing was outflanked by the French cavalry. Then, in obedience to the command of their chief, the Austrians slowly retired in regular order, without the loss of either prisoners or cannon. Two hours afterwards, the heads of the Archduke John's columns were seen approaching the bloody field. But they were now too late to be of any use, and they fell back again on Presburg. Had they arrived in time, there can be no doubt that Napoleon would have been totally defeated. This is distinctly acknowledged by General Pelet, the French historian of this campaign, and a distinguished actor in it.

The retreat was continued, without any serious molestation from the enemy, to Znaym, where the Archduke Charles took up a position on the 7th of July. A violent combat took place there on the 11th, but it was interrupted by the announcement of an armistice, which was followed on the 10th of October, after long negotiation, by the peace of Vienna. Austria was compelled to cede Carniola, Trieste, Croatia, and Dalmatia to Napoleon; Salzburg, Berchtoldsgaden, the Innviertel, and the Hausrukviertel to Bavaria; a part of Galicia to Warsaw, and another part to Russia. She lost altogether 32,000 square miles of territory, three and a half millions of subjects, all contact with the sea, all exit for her trade. As a crowning indignity, she had to submit to see the ramparts of Vienna blown up,—a wanton act of military oppression, which exasperated the people in the highest degree, and was a bad preliminary to the cordial alliance which Napoleon desired.

By the convention of Znaym and the subsequent treaty of Vienna, the Tyrol reverted to its Bavarian masters; but the brave mountaineers refused to acknowledge the convention, for their emperor had promised to conclude no peace

which did not secure to him the possession of that loyal land. After all the Austrian regular troops had withdrawn from the province, the peasants, under Hofer, Haspinger, Speckbacher, and other leaders, still maintained the contest against Lefebvre and his 30,000 men. An advanced guard of French and Bavarians were defeated by Haspinger at the bridge of Laditch (Aug. 4), with a loss of 12,000 men; six days afterwards, Marshal Lefebvre himself, with 20,000 troops, was routed with immense loss on the Brenner (Aug. 10); and again he suffered a total defeat with all his forces at Innspruck (Aug. 12), and the Tyrol was once more evacuated by the invaders. But this triumph of the peasants was of short duration. The Tyrol was again invaded with an overwhelming force: the insurgents were blockaded in their mountain valleys in the depth of winter, and starved into submission. Hofer was captured, tried by court-martial at Milan, and shot by the express order of Napoleon.

CHAPTER V.

From the Treaty of Vienna to the Final Overthrow of Napoleon.
1810–1815.

Immediately after the treaty of Vienna, Count Clement Metternich, who had previously been ambassador to France, became the leader of the Austrian cabinet, and minister for foreign affairs, a position which he retained for thirty-eight years. He had not been many months in office when a treaty of marriage was concluded between the Emperor Napoleon, who in the meanwhile had been divorced from Josephine, and the archduchess of Austria, Maria Louisa, eldest daughter of the Emperor Francis. The nuptials were solemnized with extraordinary pomp at Paris, on the 2nd of April, 1810; but the conflagration of the house of the Austrian ambassador, Prince Schwartzenberg, during a splendid fête given by him to the newly-wedded pair, ominously marred the festivities. Several persons perished in the flames,—among the rest, the ambassador's sister-in-law, Princess Paulina Schwartzenberg, who had rushed into the burn-

ing building to rescue her daughter. In the ensuing year the young empress gave birth to a prince, Napoleon Francis, who was laid in a silver cradle and provisionally entitled king of Rome, to signify his future destiny to succeed his father on the throne of the Roman empire.

Exhausted by her continual exertions for the maintenance of the war, Austria now offered a melancholy contrast to the magnificence of her new ally. The state could no longer meet its obligations, and on the 15th of March, 1811, Count Wallis, the finance minister, struck eighty per cent. off the value of one thousand and sixty millions of bank paper, and reduced the interest on the whole of the state debts to one half, payable in the new paper issue. This fearful state bankruptcy was accompanied by the fall of innumerable private firms; trade was completely stopped, and the contributions demanded by Napoleon amounted to a sum almost impossible to realize.

The alliance of Austria, secured to Napoleon by so intimate a tie, seemed in the eyes of all Europe, as well as in his own, an unfailing pledge of the permanence of his dynasty. In reality it caused his destruction, by removing the last impediment to his design of invading Russia. When war was declared by France against that power in 1812, Austria desired to remain neutral, but was compelled, like Prussia, to furnish an auxiliary force under the command of Prince Schwartzenberg. Napoleon crossed the Niemen at the head of 600,000 combatants, of whom all but 80,000 perished. Among those who escaped were 30,000 Austrians and 18,000 Prussians, so that the survivors of the proper French army were not above 32,000.

On the 30th of December, General York signed a convention with General Diebitch, in virtue of which the Prussian troops became neutral, and only waited the commands of the king of Prussia to unite themselves to the victorious Russians. Prince Schwartzenberg refused to follow this questionabl example, or to surrender Warsaw, to which he had retreated; but the Russians abstained from molesting the soldiers of a nation which they foresaw would soon be allied to their own.

Rallying with amazing promptitude from the tremendous blow he had suffered in Russia, Napoleon raised a fresh army

of 300,000 men in the beginning of 1813, in order to crush the insurrection in which all Northern Germany had joined, with the exception of Saxony, after Prussia had openly adhered to the Russian alliance. Great efforts were now made by the cabinets of Berlin and St. Petersburg to detach Austria from France; and so strongly were the national feelings declared in favour of that policy, that M. de Metternich had the utmost difficulty in withstanding the torrent, and evading the hazard of committing his government prematurely. Temporizing with consummate art, he offered the mediation of his government between the hostile parties, and at the same time prosecuted his military preparations on such a scale as would enable Austria to act no subordinate part on the one side or the other in the coming struggle. Meanwhile hostilities began; the Russians and Prussians were defeated by Napoleon at Lützen and Bautzen, and were fortunate in concluding an armistice with him at Pleisswitz on the 4th of June, 1813.

On the 27th, Austria signed a treaty at Reichenbach, in Silesia, with Russia and Prussia, by which she bound herself to declare war with France, in case Napoleon had not, before the termination of the armistice, accepted the terms of peace about to be proposed to him. A pretended congress for the arrangement of the treaty was again agreed to by both sides; but Napoleon delayed to grant full powers to his envoy, and the allies, who had meanwhile heard of Wellington's victory at Vittoria, and the expulsion of the French from Spain, gladly seized this pretext to break off the negotiations. Meanwhile, Metternich, whose voice was virtually to decide Napoleon's fate, met him at Dresden with an offer of peace, on condition of the surrender of the French conquests in Germany. Napoleon, with an infatuation only equalled by his attempts to negotiate at Moscow, spurned the proposal, and even went the length of charging Count Metternich with taking bribes from England. The conference, which was conducted on Napoleon's part in so insulting a manner, and at times in tones of passion so violent as to be overheard by the attendants, lasted till near midnight on the 10th of August, the day with which the armistice was to expire. The fatal hour passed by, and that night Count

Metternich drew up the declaration of war, on the part of his government, against France. Austria coalesced with Russia and Prussia, and in a certain degree assumed a rank conventionally superior to both. The Austrian general, Prince Schwartzenberg, was appointed generalissimo of the whole of the allied armies, and the manifesto of Count Metternich spoke already in the tone of the future regulator of the affairs of Europe.

The plan of the allies was to advance with the main body under Schwartzenberg, 190,000 strong, through the Hartz mountains to Napoleon's rear. Blücher, with 95,000 men, was meanwhile to cover Silesia, or in case of an attack by Napoleon's main body, to retire before it, and draw it further eastward. Bernadotte, who had become crown prince of Sweden, was to cover Berlin with 90,000 men, and in case of a victory, was to form a junction, rearward of Napoleon, with the main body of the allied army. A mixed division under Wallmoden, 30,000 strong, was destined to watch Davoust, in Hamburg, whilst the Bavarian and Italian frontiers were respectively guarded by 25,000 Austrians under Prince Reuss, and 40,000 Austrians under Hiller. Napoleon's main body, consisting of 250,000 men, was concentrated in and round Dresden.

The campaign opened with the march of a French force under Oudinot against Berlin. This attack having completely failed, Napoleon marched in person against Blücher, who cautiously retired before him. Dresden being thus left uncovered, the allies changed their plan of operations, and marched straight upon the Saxon capital. But they arrived too late, Napoleon having already returned thither, after despatching Vandamme's corps to Bohemia, to seize the passes and cut off Schwartzenberg's retreat. The allies attempted to storm Dresden, on the 26th of August, but were repulsed after suffering a frightful loss. On the following day Napoleon assumed the offensive, cut off the left wing of the allies, and made an immense number of prisoners, chiefly Austrians. The main body fled in all directions; part of the troops disbanded, and the whole must have been annihilated but for the misfortune of Vandamme, who was taken prisoner, with his whole corps, on the 29th.

At the same time (August 26) a splendid victory was gained by Blücher, on the Katzbach, over Macdonald, who reached Dresden almost alone, to say to Napoleon, "Your army of the Bober is no longer in existence." This disaster to the French arms was followed by the defeat of Ney at Dennewitz, by the Prussians and Swedes on the 6th of September. Napoleon's generals were thrown back in every quarter, with immense loss, on Dresden, towards which the allies now advanced again, threatening to enclose it on every side. Napoleon manœuvred until the beginning of October, with the view of executing a *coup de main* against Schwartzenberg and Blücher, but their caution foiled him, and at length he found himself compelled to retreat, lest he should be cut off from the Rhine, for Blücher had crossed the Elbe, joined Bernadotte, and approached the head of the main army under Schwartzenberg. Moreover, the Bavarian army under Wrede declared against the French on the 8th of October, and was sent to the Main to cut off their retreat. Marching to Leipsic, the emperor there encountered the allies on the 16th of October, and fought an indecisive action, which, however, was in his case equivalent to a defeat. He strove to negotiate a separate peace with the emperor of Austria, but no answer was returned to his proposals. After some partial engagements on the 17th, the main battle was renewed on the 18th; it raged with prodigious violence all day, and ended in the defeat of Napoleon; Leipsic was stormed on the following day, and the French emperor narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. He had lost 60,000 men in the four days' battle; with the remainder of his troops he made a hasty and disorderly retreat, and after losing many more in his disastrous flight, he crossed the Rhine on the 20th of October with 70,000 men. The garrisons he had left behind gradually surrendered, and by November, all Germany, as far as the Rhine, was freed from the presence of the French.

In the following month the allies simultaneously invaded France in three directions,—Bülow from Holland, Blücher from Coblentz, and Schwartzenberg, with the allied sovereigns, by Switzerland and the Jura; whilst Wellington also was advancing from the Pyrenees, at the head of the army which

had liberated the Peninsula. In twenty-five days after their passage of the Rhine the allied armies had succeeded, almost without firing a shot, in wresting a third of France from the grasp of Napoleon. Their united forces stretched diagonally across France in a line three hundred miles long, from the frontiers of Flanders to the banks of the Rhone. On the other hand, the French emperor, though his force was little more than a third of that which was at the command of the allies, had the advantage of an incomparably more concentrated position, his troops being all stationed within the limits of a narrow triangle, of which Paris, Laon, and Troyes formed the angles. Besides this, there was no perfect unanimity among his enemies. Austria, leaning on the matrimonial alliance, was reluctant to push matters to extremities, if it could possibly be avoided; Russia and Prussia were resolute to overthrow Napoleon's dynasty; whilst the councils of England, which in this diversity held the balance, were as yet divided as to the final issue. There was a prospect, therefore, that the want of concert between the allies would afford profitable opportunities to the military genius of the French emperor.

On the 29th of January, Napoleon made an unexpected attack on Blücher's corps at Brienne, in which the Prussian marshal narrowly escaped being made prisoner. But not being pursued with sufficient vigour, and having procured reinforcements, Blücher had his revenge at La Rothière, where he attacked Napoleon with superior forces and routed him. Still Schwartzenberg delayed his advance and divided his troops, whilst Blücher, pushing rapidly forward on Paris, was again unexpectedly attacked by the main body of the French army, and all his corps, as they severally advanced, were defeated with terrible loss, between the 10th and 14th of February. On the 17th, Napoleon routed the advanced guard of the main army at Nangis, and again on the 18th he inflicted a heavy defeat on them at Montereau. Augereau meanwhile, with an army levied in the south of France, had driven the Austrians under Bubna into Switzerland, and had posted himself at Geneva, in the rear of the allies, who became so alarmed as to resolve on a general retreat, and propose an armistice. Negotiations for peace had been in

progress for several weeks at Chatillon, and the allies were now more than ever desirous that the terms they offered should be accepted. But so confident was Napoleon in the returning good fortune of his arms, that he would not even consent to a suspension of hostilities while the conferences for an armistice were going on. As for the conference at Chatillon, he used it only as a means to gain time, fully resolved not to purchase peace by the reduction of his empire within the ancient limits of the French monarchy.

Blücher became furious on being informed of the intention to retreat, and with the approval of the Emperor Alexander, he resolved to separate from the main army, and push on for Paris. Being reinforced on the Marne by Winzingerode and Bülow, he encountered Napoleon at Craone on the 7th of March. The battle was one of the most obstinately contested of the whole revolutionary war; the loss on both sides was enormous, but neither could claim a victory. Two days afterwards the emperor was defeated at Laon; but Blücher's army was reduced to inactivity by fatigue and want of food.

Napoleon now turned upon the grand army, which he encountered at Arcis-sur-Aube; but after an indecisive action, he deliberately retreated, not towards Paris, but in the direction of the Rhine. His plan was to occupy the fortresses in the rear of the allies, form a junction with Augereau, who was then defending Lyons, and, with the aid of a general rising of the peasantry in Alsace and Lorraine, surround and cut off the invaders, or, at least, compel them to retreat to the Rhine. But this plan being made known to the allies by an intercepted letter from Napoleon to the empress, they frustrated it by at once marching with flying banners upon Paris, leaving behind only 10,000 men under Winzingerode, to amuse Napoleon, and mask their movement. After repulsing Mortier and Marmont, and capturing the forces under Pacthod and Amey, the allies defiled within sight of Paris on the 29th. On the 30th, they met with a spirited resistance on the heights of Belleville and Montmartre; but the city, in order to escape bombardment, capitulated during the night; and on the 31st, the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia made a peaceful entry. The emperor

of Austria had remained at Lyons. Napoleon was compelled, on the 10th of April, to resign the imperial crown, and descend to the miniature sovereignty of the island of Elba. On the 4th of May, Louis XVIII. entered the capital of France, and mounted the throne of his ancestors ; and on the 30th of the same month, a general peace was concluded at Paris, by a treaty which reduced France to her limits as in 1792.

Europe being now freed from her tyrant, a congress was assembled at Vienna in the autumn of 1814, to adjust the claims and mutual relations of the several states. This was a matter of great difficulty, and there seemed much probability that the discordant victors would turn their swords against each other, until concord was perforce restored by the news that the common enemy was again in the field. Napoleon had quitted Elba, landed on the coast of France on the 1st of March, 1815, and in three weeks afterwards entered Paris, the whole nation receiving him with acclamation, not a single Frenchman shedding a drop of blood in defence of the house of Bourbon. The allied sovereigns, present in person or by their representatives at Vienna, at once declared Napoleon an outlaw, and bound themselves to bring a force of more than a million into the field against him. The first contingents brought forward were a mixed army of English, Dutch, Belgians, and Germans, under the duke of Wellington, and a Prussian force under Blücher, both of which were encamped in Belgium. Napoleon crossed the frontier on the 14th of June, led the right wing of his army against Blücher at Ligny on the 16th, and defeated him with great slaughter, the marshal himself being among the wounded and almost among the slain. On the same day, but with very different fortune, Ney, with the left wing of the French, encountered Wellington at Quatre Bras, and suffered a severe defeat. After this, the Prussians retreated to Wavre, pursued by 35,000 French under Grouchy, whilst Wellington, falling back on the position he had chosen near Waterloo, awaited the approach of Napoleon. In the stupendous battle of the 18th of June, the flower of the French soldiery perished in their desperate efforts against the obdurate valour of the British. The battle raged from noon until

eight o'clock, with unexampled fury. Blücher and his Prussians made gigantic efforts to reach the scene of action; but, marching over ground rendered almost impassable by the heavy rains that had fallen, their main body did not arrive until the victory was already won. Then they undertook the pursuit, and prosecuted it with unrelenting vigour until nothing remained of the magnificent French army but a helpless mob of fugitives incapable of rallying again. Napoleon returned to Paris to abdicate a second time. Then failing in an attempt to escape to America, he surrendered to Captain Maitland, of his Britannic majesty's ship *Bellerophon*. With the concurrence of all the powers, he was conveyed, under the custody of the English, to the island of St. Helena, where he died on the 5th of May, 1821. His consort, Maria Louisa, was created duchess of Parma, and his son lived, under the title of duke of Reichstadt, with his imperial grandfather at Vienna, until his death in 1832.

Meanwhile, Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, who had joined the allies against him after the battle of Leipsig, advanced into Upper Italy against the Austrians, upon the reappearance of the ex-emperor in France. Murat was defeated at Tolentino and fled to Corsica, but his retreat to France being prevented by the success of the allies, he rashly returned to Italy with the design of raising a popular insurrection, but was seized on landing, and shot on the 13th of October.

In the new partition of Europe, arranged in the congress of Vienna, Austria received Lombardy and Venice under the title of a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, the Illyrian provinces also as a kingdom, Venetian Dalmatia, the Tirol, Vorarlberg, Salzburg, the Innviertel and Hausrucksviertel, and the part of Galicia ceded by her at an earlier period. Thus, after three-and-twenty years of war, the monarchy had gained a considerable accession of strength, having obtained in lieu of its remote and unprofitable possessions in the Netherlands, territories which consolidated its power in Italy, and made it as great in extent as it had been in the days of Charles VI., and far more compact and defensible. The grand duchies of Modena, Parma, and Placentia, were moreover restored to the collateral branches of the house of Habsburg.

The ancient German empire was replaced by a German confederation, composed of thirty-nine states; and a permanent Diet, consisting of plenipotentiaries from the several states, was established at Frankfort on the Maine, Austria holding the permanent presidency.

CHAPTER VI.

From the Congress of Vienna, 1815, *to the Revolution of* 1848.

The wars which, with little intermission, filled the first three-and-twenty years of the reign of the Emperor Francis, were in the main a struggle for national independence. On their first invasion of France, Austria and her allies declared their intention to quell the revolutionary spirit, and to uphold the cause of hereditary monarchy; but having failed in the attempt, they soon abandoned, tacitly at first, and afterwards in express terms, all pretensions to interfere in the domestic concerns of an independent state, or to prescribe its form of government. They fought against French aggression, not for abstract ideas, but in defence of their own rights and territories. After the last fall of Napoleon, however, the great powers of the continent reverted to their original policy, and constituted themselves the champions of the principle of absolute monarchy. The maintenance of that principle ultimately became the chief object of the so-called Holy Alliance established in 1816 between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and was pursued with remarkable steadfastness by the Emperor Francis and his minister, Prince Metternich.

The determination to resist all demands for constitutional rights, both in their own dominions and in every continental state, was then an after-thought of the allied sovereigns, who had previously made very liberal professions, and apparently with perfect sincerity. The treaty of alliance concluded at Chaumont in 1814 between Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, contained the following declaration:— "The sovereigns recognise as the fundamental principle of the high compact now existing between them the unalterable

resolution, neither in their own reciprocal concerns, nor in their relations with other powers, to depart from *the strictest obedience to the maxims of popular right*; because the constant application of these maxims to a permanent state of peace affords the only effectual guarantee for the independence of each separate power, and the security of the whole confederation." In the early part of the first Congress of Vienna, Austria declared that "the subjects of every German state under the ancient empire possessed rights against their sovereign which had of late been disregarded, but that such disregard must be rendered impossible for the future;" Prussia deliberately proposed a scheme of almost the same constitution, which, thirty two years after, was revived by the present king; and Austria, Prussia, and Hanover concurred in placing on record a note (November 16, 1814), in which was maintained the necessity of introducing universally Constitutional Estates, and giving them a voice in questions of "taxation, public expenditures, the redress of public grievances, and general legislation."

Such was the disposition of the leading members of the German Confederation immediately after the first treaty of Paris; but the events of the hundred days appear to have produced a total change in their views. When the Congress of Vienna resumed its sittings after that period, the question of constitutional rights underwent a discussion of four weeks, and the result, effected chiefly through the influence of Austria, was the concise expression of the thirteenth article of the Confederation, viz. "A Representative Constitution shall be adopted in all the federative states,"—a phrase which committed its authors to no very definite issue, and of which the true meaning has been to this day a subject of dispute. Thenceforth it became the avowed policy of the chief sovereigns of Germany to maintain the rights of dynasties in an adverse sense to those of their subjects. The people, on the other hand, deeply resented the breach of those promises which had been so lavishly made to them on the general summons to the war of liberation. Disaffection took the place of that enthusiastic loyalty with which they had bled and suffered for their native princes; the secret societies, formed with the concurrence of their rulers, for the

purpose of throwing off the yoke of the foreigner, became ready instruments of sedition; and Germany has ever since been possessed by a revolutionary spirit, working through hidden ways inscrutable to the police, compressible only by an enormous preponderance of military force, and always ready to break forth with devastating violence whenever that pressure is removed.

The antagonism thus briefly indicated constitutes the dominant fact in the history of Austria, and of every German state, during the last forty years. Its nature is thus portrayed by the philosophical historian Niebuhr, as reported by the Chevalier Bunsen :—

"Europe is threatened with great dangers, and with the loss of all that is noble and great, by two opposite but conspiring elements of destruction—despotism and revolution; both in their most mischievous forms. As to the former, the modern state despotism, established by Louis XIV., promoted by the French Revolution, and carried out to memorable perfection by Napoleon, and those governments which have adopted his system, after having combated its author, is more enslaving and deadening than any preceding form; for it is civilised and systematised, and besides the military force, has two engines unknown to the ancient world or to the middle ages. These are, first, the modern state-government, founded upon a police force, which has degenerated into a gigantic spy system; and secondly, a thoroughly organised and centralised bureaucracy, which allows of no independent will and action in the country. So likewise modern revolution is more destructive of political life and the elements of liberty, than similar movements in former ages; for it is a merely negative, and at the same time systematic reaction against the ancient *régime*, of which it made the despotic part universal by carrying out uniformity, and by autocratic interference in the name of the state; whereas it gives no equivalent for the real, although imperfect liberties, which the old system contained in the form of privileges; and in condemning such privileges under the sanction of democracy, it destroyed the basis of liberty under the pretext of sovereignty."*

* Life and Letters of B. G. Niebuhr, vol. iii.

In the winter of 1819, a German federative congress assembled at Vienna. In May of the following year, it published an act containing closer definitions of the Federative Act, having for their essential objects the exclusion of the various provincial Diets from all positive interference in the general affairs of Germany, and an increase of the power of the princes over their respective Diets, by a guarantee of aid on the part of the confederates.

During the sitting of this congress, on New Year's Day, 1820, the liberal party in Spain revolted against their ungrateful sovereign, Ferdinand VII., who exercised the most fearful tyranny over the nation that had remained faithful to him in his adversity. This example was shortly afterwards followed by the Neapolitans, who were also dissatisfied with the conduct of their sovereign. Prince Metternich immediately convoked a congress at Troppau. The Czar Alexander, who had views upon the east, and was no stranger to the designs of the party who were preparing a revolution in Greece against the Turks, was at first unwilling to give his consent unconditionally to the interference of Austria; but on being, in 1821, informed, to his great surprise, by Prince Metternich, of the existence of a revolutionary spirit in one of the regiments of the Russian guard, he freely assented to all the measures proposed by that minister. The new congress, held at Laibach in 1821, was followed by the entrance of the Austrians under Frimont into Italy. The Neapolitans fled without firing a shot, and the Piedmontese, who unexpectedly revolted in Frimont's rear, were, after a short encounter with the Austrians under Bubna at Novara, defeated, and reduced to submission. Meanwhile, the Greeks had risen in open insurrection against the long and cruel tyranny of the Turks; but Russia now no longer ventured openly to uphold them, and the influence of Austria was successfully exerted against them at the Congress of Verona in 1822. Notwithstanding the professedly Christian spirit of the Holy Alliance, and the political advantages which would accrue to one at least of its members from the subversion of the Turkish empire, the revolt of the Greeks was treated as rebellion against the legitimate authority of the Porte, and was strongly discouraged. On the same grounds,

it was decided that a French army should be despatched into Spain to reinstate Ferdinand in his legitimate tyranny, and this was accomplished in 1823. The Duke of Wellington, who represented England at the Congress of Verona, protested, in the name of his government, against this violation of the constitutional rights of Spain; the protest was disregarded, and Portugal would have been likewise coerced, but for the landing of a protecting English force upon its shores.

The establishment of the kingdom of Greece in 1827, under the protection of England, France, and Russia, was regarded with no favourable eye by Austria; but she did not interfere with the proceedings of the other powers, nor was the harmony between her and Russia disturbed until the invasion of Turkey by the latter had excited her alarm. In 1828, England and Austria peremptorily intervened to prevent the impending fall of Constantinople. France expressed her readiness to unite with Russia, and to fall upon the Austrian rear in case troops were sent against the Russians. Prussia, however, presented herself as a mediator, and a treaty was concluded at Adrianople in 1829, by which Russia, though compelled for the time to restore the booty already seized, gained some considerable advantages, being granted possession of several of the most important mountain fastnesses and passes of Asia Minor, a right to occupy and fortify the mouths of the Danube, so important to Austria, and a protectoral authority over Moldavia and Wallachia.

The piratical seizure of an Austrian trading brig in 1828 occasioned a petty war with Morocco, and the appearance of an Austrian fleet in the Mediterranean. Satisfaction was obtained, and peace was concluded at Gibraltar in 1830.

The commotions that pervaded Europe after the French Revolution of 1830, affected Austria only in her Italian dominions, and there but indirectly, for the imperial authority remained undisputed in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. But the duke of Modena and the archduke of Parma were obliged to quit those states, and a formidable insurrection broke out in the territory of the Church. An Austrian army of 18,000 men quickly put down the insurgents, who rose again, however, as soon as it was withdrawn. The pope

again invoked the aid of Austria, whose troops entered Bologna in January, 1832, and established themselves there in garrison. Upon this, the French immediately sent a force to occupy Ancona, and for a while a renewal of the oft repeated conflict between Austria and France on Italian ground seemed inevitable; but it soon appeared that France was not prepared to support the revolutionary party in the pope's dominions, and that danger passed away. The French remained for some years in Ancona, and the Austrians in Bologna and other towns of Romagna. This was the last important incident in the foreign affairs of Austria previous to the death of the Emperor Francis I., on the 2nd of March, 1835, after a reign of forty-three years.

During the last twenty years of Francis I., and the whole reign of his successor, the care of the government was directed with assiduity, and with no inconsiderable success, towards improvements in the industrial resources of the empire. Two great companies were formed for the conduct of steam navigation, the one operating from Linz on the Danube to the Black Sea, the other, the Austrian Lloyds, effecting communication between Triest and Egypt, Asia Minor and Constantinople. The state planned a net-work of railways, extending over the whole empire, and undertook the construction of a railway from Triest to the Saxon and Prussian frontiers. A private company began the railway from Milan to Venice, and being favoured with extraordinary aid from the government, was enabled to complete the colossal viaduct across the lagunes, connecting Venice with the main land. Other important undertakings, supported by private capital, are, the railway from Debreczin to Pesth, and the noble chain-bridge over the Danube between Pesth and Buda. But the solicitude of the Austrian government for the material welfare of the people was in a great degree neutralised by the erroneous policy which almost prohibited commercial intercourse with foreign countries, and even between Austria and Hungary. In 1838, however, a commercial treaty was concluded between Austria and England, by which the Danube was freely opened to British vessels as far as Galatz, and all British ports, including Malta and Gibraltar, as freely to Austrian vessels.

The Emperor Francis was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand I., whose accession occasioned no change in the political or administrative system of the empire. Incapacitated, by physical and mental infirmity, from labouring as his father had done in the business of the state, the new monarch left to Prince Metternich a much more unrestricted power than that minister had wielded in the preceding reign. One happy effect of this circumstance was seen in the general amnesty granted to political offenders on the occasion of Ferdinand's coronation in Milan, in 1838. Perfectly in unison as Francis and Metternich had always been as to their political views, no two men were ever more unlike in the disposition they evinced towards offenders against their common system. The homely good-nature of "Father Francis," as his petted Viennese delighted to call him, gave place to barbarous vindictiveness against all who sinned against his political creed. The larger mind of the minister was incapable of this fanaticism. He was averse to all extreme measures, and particularly opposed to shedding human blood. No political executions ever took place at his instance. Francis himself has been heard to say, "In pardoning, I am a bad Christian; it is too hard for me; Metternich is much more compassionate."

Once only during the reign of the Emperor Ferdinand did the foreign relations of Austria assume a threatening appearance. War had broken out, in 1839, between the Sultan of Turkey and his powerful vassal, the Pasha of Egypt, whose son, Ibrahim Pasha, wrested Syria from the Porte, and overran Asia Minor, and threatened the very existence of the empire. The five powers—England, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria—interfered. While their envoys consulted in London, the French and English fleets cruised in the Levant to keep the truce. The case was now much perplexed by the Turkish admiral having carried his ships to Alexandria, and put them into the power of the Pasha. A strong suspicion was entertained that the French government encouraged the Pasha to retain this fleet, when he would otherwise have given it up. The four other powers demanded its surrender by a certain day, and this not having been done, they signed a convention on the 15th of July, to the exclusion of

France. That power was jealous, and remonstrated through her minister, M. Guizot; and war seemed imminent in Europe. The only way to prevent it was to extinguish the war in the Levant by a sudden blow before the conflagration spread farther; and this was done by the British fleet, aided by a few Austrian ships. They blockaded Alexandria and the Syrian ports; and in September they bombarded Beyrout. The Egyptians lost ground everywhere; and in November Acre fell before the attacks of the allied squadrons. Jerusalem returned to its allegiance to the Porte; and the Egyptians had no other hope than that of getting back to the Nile with the remnant of their force: Mohammed Ali delivered up the Turkish fleet, resigned his pretensions to Syria, and in return received the firman, which gave the dominion of Egypt to himself and his heirs. A change of ministry took place in France, and peace was preserved.

The province of Galicia began early in the new reign to occasion uneasiness to the government. The Congress of Vienna had constituted the city of Cracow an independent republic—a futile representative of that Polish nationality which had once extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. After the failure of the Polish insurrection of 1831 against Russia, Cracow became the focus of fresh conspiracies, to put an end to which, the city was occupied by a mixed force of Russians, Prussians, and Austrians; the two former were soon withdrawn, but the latter remained until 1840. When they also had retired, the Polish propaganda was renewed with considerable effect. An insurrection broke out in Galicia in 1846, when the scantiness of the Austrian military force in the province seemed to promise it success. It failed, however, as all previous efforts of the Polish patriots had failed, because it rested on no basis of popular sympathy. The nationality for which they contended had ever been of an oligarchical pattern, hostile to the freedom of the middle and lower classes. The Galician peasants had no mind to exchange the yoke of Austria, which pressed lightly upon them, for the feudal oppression of the Polish nobles. They turned upon the insurgents, and slew or took them prisoners, the police inciting them to the work, by publicly offering a reward of five florins for every suspected person delivered up by them

alive or dead. Thus the agents of a civilized government became the avowed instigators of an inhuman *jacquerie*. The houses of the landed proprietors were sacked by the peasants, their inmates were tortured and murdered, and bloody anarchy raged throughout the land in the prostituted name of loyalty. The Austrian troops at last restored order; but Szela, the leader of the sanguinary marauders, was thanked and highly rewarded in the name of his sovereign.

In the same year the three protecting powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, took possession of Cracow, and ignoring the rights of the other parties to the treaty of Vienna to concern themselves about the fate of the republic, they announced that its independence was annulled, and that the city and territory of Cracow were annexed to, and for ever incorporated with, the Austrian monarchy.

From this time forth the political atmosphere of Europe became more and more loaded with the presages of the storm that burst in 1848. It was the Italian quarter of the horizon that first attracted the anxious gaze of statesmen. For more than thirty years after the final settlement of Europe by the treaty of Vienna, Austria exercised a peremptory control over the affairs of all Italy. From every sovereign of that country she exacted the strictest maintenance of the established order of things in his own dominions; and hence she became for all Italian malcontents the object of their supreme enmity, the common cause to which they ascribed all their political and social grievances. Agreeing in little else, they were unanimous in hating their northern masters; and gradually this communion in hatred led them to fix their desires also upon one common object, the achievement of Italian nationality. But they looked upon Austria with no less dread than aversion, and plainly acknowledged to themselves the impossibility of coping with her in arms. They busied themselves only with conspiracies to harass and annoy the Italian sovereigns, her subordinates. "During these last thirty years," says one of the most judicious Italian writers of the present day,* "the Italians had only been feeling their way. They cared very little, and

* Mariotti, Italy in 1848.

understood even less, about the representative forms of Transalpine freedom. The thorn in their side was plainly the foreigner. They tried him by indirect attacks, by a feint upon the Bourbon, or the Pope, at Naples, at Rome, at Turin. Before they were fairly on their guard, down he came upon them; and this ubiquity of the Austrian, this promptness and decision of his movements, this omnipresence and omnipotence, ought, if anything, to have, as it actually had, the effect of simplifying the question and identifying Italian interests."

Ever preluding a levy of bucklers against Austria, but ever indefinitely postponing the moment of action, Italy was prematurely overtaken in the midst of her preparations by the fair-seeming but fallacious opportunity of 1848. Shortly before that period, the Italians had become conscious from fatal experience of the total inefficiency of secret conspiracies and violent measures, and they had adopted a more cautious and discreet policy, the watchword of which was "conciliation, union, and moral force." This change of conduct led to concessions on the part of the princes, the first example of which was given by Charles Albert of Sardinia, to whom the foreign yoke was even more galling than to the meanest of his subjects. Some trivial differences with the imperial government in 1846, on the subject of railways, and about some matters of custom and finance, afforded him a pretext for repudiating the dictation of Austria, and assuming the tone and attitude of an independent sovereign. This beginning was dexterously improved by the leaders of the national party, and three more of the principal Italian monarchs—the grand duke of Tuscany, the pope, and the king of the Two Sicilies—were brought by clever management to adopt, with more or less reluctance, a course opposed to the wishes of their imperial protector.

Italy was now fairly launched in what was vaguely called "the way of progress," and which simply meant, rebellion against Austria. A peculiar significance was attached to the mustering of the Italians in literary and scientific associations. A trade and customs' union was largely discussed, and was finally concluded at Turin on the 3rd of November, 1847. After the accession of Naples, it seemed an easy step to con-

vert that merely commercial agreement into a political compact, an offensive and defensive alliance ; but this was not attempted until after the declaration of war in April and May, 1848, when it was too late.

Austria was by no means indifferent to these tokens ; she resolved to surprise the Italians in the midst of their too-leisurely deliberations ; but in the execution of that purpose, she forgot her usual discretion, and made a false move, which she was constrained to retract with discredit. She struck the first blow and failed. Upon the publication of the pope's decree of July 6, 1847, for the organization of a civic guard, the Austrian garrison in the citadel of Ferrara marched into the town, and took possession of it. Against this violation of his territory, the pope protested in what the friends of Austria called at the time "unusual and intemperate language," but the act which had provoked it was condemned by the whole civilized world, and Austria felt the expediency of amicably revoking the step she had taken, and withdrawing her troops within the citadel.* She had put herself so palpably in the wrong on her first aggression, as to make it difficult for her to venture soon upon another attempt of the same kind ; and so conscious was she of her false position, that she tacitly abdicated the high protectorate she had been used to exercise over the minor Italian states, and even refused the benefit of her advice to the sovereigns of Lucca and Tuscany in their perplexities. It was fortunate for her that she had not to do with a pope like Julius II. to head a national crusade, which would have leagued all Italy against her. As it was, she was compelled to endure, at the hands of Pius IX. and his minister, Cardinal Ferretti, a flat and harsh refusal of a free passage to the troops she contemplated sending to the succour of her Neapolitan ally. Never was Austrian influence in Italian affairs at a lower

* "It was the dread of innovation that prompted the occupation of Ferrara,—a measure in our opinion precipitate and impolitic ; the dominions of the pope should have been held sacred from invasion ; and the pretences, too, by which the measure is excused, are most frivolous." —*Quarterly Review*, Dec. 1847. "Had the pope declared war on Austria at the time of the occupation of Ferrara, a pretext had at least been afforded."—*Ibid.* June, 1848.

ebb since the coronation of Charles V. in 1530. Modena and Parma alone adhered to her unreservedly; even Naples was wavering in its attachment.

"Up to the very opening of the year 1848, the Italians had proved themselves tolerably shrewd and skilful tacticians. They had won their ground upon the enemy without affording him an opportunity—a good reason at least—for unsheathing his sword. They had fairly kept on their own ground; given no alarm to the anxious guardians of European order. They had in fact listened to them; to a certain extent, acted by their advice."* Lord Palmerston displayed great zeal for the independence of the Italian states, frequently remonstrated on their behalf with the Austrian cabinet, encouraged the Italian princes to adopt reform as a preventive against revolution, and gave his unflinching support to Sardinia up to the declaration of hostilities against Austria. Lord Minto, the father-in-law of the English premier, and himself a minister, was sent on a mission to aid the Italians with his counsels in the prosecution of their "bloodless revolution." The policy of France towards Italy during the years 1846 and 1847, agreed in the main with that of England. Thus everything favoured the hopes of the Italians, and tended to make Austria's position in the peninsula increasingly precarious. But that condition of things was reversed in a most unexpected manner. Events which portended nothing less than the dissolution of the Austrian monarchy, proved the means of consolidating its power and restoring its lost influence. "All the Italians wanted was time, and this was not given them. The success of their enterprise rested on their consciousness of the magnitude of its difficulties, and fortune made it appear portentously easy." The temptation offered by the Vienna catastrophe of March, 1848, lured the Italian patriots to their ruin.

* Mariotti.

CHAPTER VII.

The Revolution of 1848, *from March to September.*

THE revolution in Vienna began on the 13th of March, on the occasion of the opening of the States for Lower Austria. The business of the day had not proceeded more than half an hour, when a mob, headed by the students of the university, forced their way into the hall, clamouring for reform. The members of the assembly at once concurred in the demands of the populace, and agreed to march at its head to the palace, where a cabinet council had meanwhile been summoned. It was twelve o'clock when this strange procession set out, and at four o'clock it had not yet returned with an answer. The people became exasperated by this delay; the students harangued them, and the tumult increased continually. The young Archduke Albert, who commanded the garrison, attempted to disperse the mob by force; but he was wholly unacquainted with street warfare, and his measures were so injudicious as only to augment the confusion, and disspirit the troops, who were drawn out but to be exhausted by fatigue and insult. No fighting took place, but a few shots were fired here and there, and about fifteen people were killed either by the bullets of the soldiers or by the pressure of the crowd. Further violence was for the moment prevented by the announcement that Prince Metternich had resigned, that the emperor had acceded to the popular demands, and had confided the keeping of the city to the students and citizens, who were all to receive arms. Two days afterwards an imperial patent was issued which embraced all the great concessions of liberty of the press, a national guard, and the immediate convocation of the estates of the realm with a view to the Constitution of Austria.

We pass rapidly over the events of March and the five following months, since they are discussed at some length in the narrative at the end of this volume. On the 25th of April, Baron Pillersdorff, the new minister for the home department, promulgated a complete constitution on the Belgian model, which of course superseded the regular convocation

of the states promised on the 15th of March. This constitution existed for just twenty days, and perished in a street riot. On the 16th of May another imperial proclamation was issued, convoking a constituent assembly, which was to consist of but one chamber; and thus just two months had sufficed to bring the empire from the system of Prince Metternich to the verge of a Convention. On the same day, the emperor and his family secretly quitted the capital and retired to Innspruck. The ministers and the whole population of Vienna were thrown into consternation, and messengers were despatched with the most pressing entreaties to recall the fugitives, who obstinately rejected all such overtures. Another insurrection took place in Vienna on the 25th of May, in consequence of a report that three regiments were to enter the city at night. Barricades were erected, but there was no fighting, for the government purchased another instalment of repose by an abject concession; and the result was the establishment of a "committee of citizens, national guards, and students of Vienna, for the maintenance of peace and order, and for the defence of the rights of the people." From that moment the whole power in Vienna was in the hands of this body, which was expressly declared to be independent of any other authority.

On the 16th of June a proclamation appeared, by which the Archduke John was appointed the full representative or Alter Ego of the emperor, not only for the opening of the Diet, but for all the business of government. Besides this weighty task, others had been heaped upon him, each of which would have sufficed to employ the whole time and energy of a younger man. He was to represent the sovereign in Vienna; he was to mediate between the Hungarians and Croatians, already on the brink of war; and, on the 28th of June, he was elected vicegerent of the Germanic empire. In the two former capacities his exertions were without result, and shortly afterwards he withdrew altogether to Frankfort, where he still rendered an important service to Austrian interests, by maintaining that counterpoise against the growing ascendancy of Prussia, which Austria had, at that time, no other means of supporting in the councils of Germany. In consequence of these engagements, the formal

opening of the Diet was postponed until the 22nd of July. The Emperor returned to his capital on the 12th of August.

In Bohemia the revolution ran a vehement, but very brief course. The Czechs, or Bohemians of the indigenous race, had long nurtured hopes of seeing the Austrian empire transformed into a great Sclavonic confederacy, from which the alien races should be excluded, or in which they should hold a position corresponding to their numerical inferiority. In March, a deputation from Prague presented a petition to the emperor, demanding popular representation on the broadest basis, and a responsible Bohemian ministry residing in Prague. This was granted on the 8th of April. The next step of the Czech leaders was to call upon all the Sclavonian provinces of the empire, "to appear by their representatives on the 31st of May in the ancient city of Prague, to take counsel for the interests of their race, and especially to counteract the absorbing influence of the Germanic body about to meet in Frankfort." Three hundred deputies assembled at the appointed time, and, as if the more to exasperate the Germans, the opening of the congress was accompanied by the establishment of a provisional government in Prague, the pretext for which had been furnished by the events of the 26th of May, which seemed to show that the Viennese ministry were captives in the hands of insurgents. On this ground the burgrave, Count Leo Thun, created a council of regency in direct correspondence with the emperor. Of the thirteen members of this government, two only were Germans.

Opened on the 2nd of June, the congress was abruptly closed on the 12th. The Viennese government could not pardon the slight put upon it by the provisional government of Bohemia, and it declared that body to be illegal, and its acts null and void. This challenge was answered, as probably it was intended that it should be, by an insurrection which raged for five days, ending on the 17th of June; nor was it put down until Prince Windischgrätz, the Austrian commander, had bombarded the town from the adjacent heights, and laid much of it in ruins. Prague relapsed into its former state of dependence on Vienna; the Sclavonic congress was dispersed; and even the Bohemian Diet, which was

to have opened on the 18th of June, was indefinitely postponed. The tranquillity of Prague was never afterwards disturbed; and in the subsequent debates of the Diet at Vienna and Kremsier, the Bohemian party formed the nucleus of the right, or conservative section of the chamber.

On the 15th of March the king of Hungary received a deputation of 250 Hungarian gentlemen, headed by the Palatine, Archduke Stephen, and bearing an address voted by the Diet then sitting in Presburg. Dismissed from the monarch's presence with a full assent to their requests, the deputation returned home; and so energetically did the Diet avail itself of the powers conceded to it, that in less than a month all the reforms of the liberal party passed into law by common consent, and the improved constitution of the kingdom was established. Instead of the Aulic Chancery, a responsible ministry for Hungary was instituted under the presidency of Count Louis Batthyany, with Kossuth in the department of finance. All classes and races throughout Hungary, Transylvania, Sclavonia, and Croatia, were equalized before the law; and universal religious toleration was decreed, with one exception in favour of the Roman Catholic province of Croatia, whose former law, forbidding Protestants to settle in that country, was suffered to remain unaltered. The censorship of the press was abolished. The national guard was established. A general taxation was introduced. The mode of election was improved. The *robot* or labour service due by the peasantry to their landlords was abolished; the former were made free proprietors of the land they had held as hereditary tenants, and the latter were to be indemnified by the nation. Lastly, the union of Transylvania with Hungary was mutually decreed; and, on the 11th of April, the king came down in person and ratified all these laws by oath. The Diet was then dissolved, and a new one summoned to meet at Pesth in July.

With unbounded satisfaction the Hungarians regarded the happy destinies thus apparently secured to them; but now new difficulties arose out of those animosities of race which had been fostered by the immemorial policy of the house of Habsburg, and which the Hungarian government took no adequate pains to allay. Not one of the Croatian leaders

was admitted into the ministry, or into any of the higher offices of state. This alone would have served to quench the movement which had begun in Croatia in union with that of Hungary. Austrian intrigue was not slow to avail itself of this and other errors. Croats, Servians, and Wallachs were incited by delusive promises, by hopes of plunder, and by the instigations of their Greek and Romish priests in Viennese pay, to wage civil war in defence of their emperor and their religion, both which they were assured were threatened by the rebellious and heretical Hungarians. Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, openly organised a revolt against the lawfully constituted government of Hungary. He was summoned to appear before the emperor at Innspruck to account for his conduct, and on his refusal to obey the summons, Ferdinand issued a decree on the 10th of June, by which the contumacious Ban was declared a rebel, and the Hungarian Diet was exhorted to raise an army against him. The king, however, always avoided giving his final sanction to the bills passed for that purpose. Meanwhile, Radetzki had defeated Charles Albert. Jellachich threw off the mask which his countrymen alone had been too blind to penetrate, and announced to Batthyany that there should be no peace until a ministry at Vienna ruled over Hungary.

The new diet was opened at Pesth on the 5th of July by the Palatine, Archduke Stephen, in the name of his majesty King Ferdinand V. The language in which he condemned the Croat insurrection was unequivocal. "The king," he said, "after having spontaneously sanctioned the laws voted by the Diet, has seen with grief that the agitators, especially in Croatia, have excited the inhabitants of different creeds and languages against each other. By harassing them with false rumours and idle terrors, they have been driven to resist laws which, they assumed, were not the free expression of his majesty's will. Some have gone further, and have averred that their resistance was made in the interest of the royal house, and with the knowledge and consent of his majesty. His majesty scorns such insinuations. The king and his royal family will at all times respect the laws and protect the liberties granted to his people."

So spoke publicly the emperor's kinsman and representative, his Alter Ego. But in a letter to Vienna, dated March 24, 1848, that is to say, a few days after the grant of a separate ministry, this same person is found to have suggested three modes of destroying the Hungarian constitution: either to excite the peasants against the nobles, as in Galicia, and stand by whilst the parties slaughtered each other; or to tamper with Batthyany's honesty; or to invade and overpower Hungary by military force. A copy of this letter, in the archduke's hand-writing, was afterwards found among his papers when he fled from Pesth, and was officially published with all the necessary verifications. The Austrians have not ventured to deny its authenticity.

In September, as the king would neither allow troops to be raised in Hungary, nor the Hungarian regiments to be recalled from Italy for home defence, a Hungarian deputation was sent to the Austrian Diet, but it was refused admittance by aid of the Sclavonic party. On the 2nd of that month, Latour, Austrian minister at war, solemnly disavowed in the Diet any connection with Jellachich's movement; yet two days later, a royal ordinance (officially published in Croatia only), reinstated Jellachich in all his dignities: and he soon afterwards crossed the Drave to invade Hungary, with a well-appointed army, 65,000 strong. It was the duty of the Palatine, the Archduke Stephen, as supreme captain of all troops in Hungary, to lead the army against Jellachich. He proceeded to the neighbourhood of Lake Balaton, there reviewed the troops, and then fled to Vienna without communicating with the parliament. In this position, and as Jellachich openly showed the king's commission, Batthyany felt compelled to resign, since he knew not how to act by the king's command against the king's command. No successor was appointed, and the Hungarian Diet had no choice but to form a Committee for National Defence. To embarrass them in this, the king re-opened a negotiation with Batthyany (September 14), but still eluded any practical result by refusing to put down Jellachich. Meanwhile (September 16) despatches were intercepted, in which Jellachich thanked Latour for supplies of money and material of war. The Hungarian Diet published them officially, and distributed

them by thousands. But Hungary was still unarmed, and Jellachich was burning, plundering, slaughtering. Some idea of the conduct of his troops and their auxiliaries may be formed from the fact, that Mr. Fonblanque, the British consul-general at Belgrave, in Turkish Servia, where their plunder was disposed of, was obliged to complain to the prince of Servia of the disgusting spectacle offered in the market-place, where rings, still attached to the dissevered ears and fingers of women, were exhibited for sale, like fruits culled with the leaf to render them more tempting.

The next move made in the emperor's name, professedly with a view to put an end to the civil war in Hungary, was to appoint Count Lamberg to take the command of the whole kingdom and its contending forces; a step, it has been aptly said, about as hopeful and judicious as if Charles I. of England had appointed a generalissimo over the royal and parliamentary armies of his early wars, in the expectation of stopping the civil conflict by the simple issue of that commission. The Hungarian Diet immediately declared Lamberg's appointment illegal, and himself a traitor if he attempted to act upon it. He persisted however, and, being recognised as he crossed the bridge at Pesth, he was murdered by the infuriated populace.

By this time Kossuth's eloquence had assembled masses of volunteers, who, with the aid of only 3,000 regular troops, met and repulsed Jellachich at Sukoro (Sept. 29), and chased him out of their country. His rearguard of 12,000 men, under Generals Phillipovitch and Roth, was obliged to surrender twelve days afterwards, and 6,000 more were destroyed by the Hungarian levies at Kanischa.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lombardo-Venetian War.—1848–1849.

NOWHERE in Italy was hatred to the Austrian more intense or more universally cherished than in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Its people have published a long list of grievances in justification of that feeling. The panegyrists of

Austria, on the other hand, assert that her administration "was more just and impartial, more provident; above all things more passionless than that of any of the so-called independent Italian governments;" and they accuse Lombardy and Venice of gross ingratitude and blindness to their own interests, in their relations with a paternal government, which treated them with such peculiar favour as excited the keenest jealousy of the other provinces of the empire. Without entering into the merits of this controversy, it is enough for our present purposes to accept the cardinal fact alleged by the disputants on both sides—namely, that the Italian subjects of the empire hated its yoke. They hated it above all things because it was a foreign yoke, and for that reason alone they would have hated it, however slightly it had pressed their necks. Any aliment would have sufficed to feed the rancour of their passion; but three things especially contributed to keep it fresh in their souls: these were, the swarms of Germans, Slavonians, and Tyrolese, who filled all civil offices to the exclusion of native functionaries, the very judges being often unacquainted with the language of the country, and discharging their office through interpreters; and secondly and thirdly, those two main evils, for which Napoleon's rule had been held up to universal execration, —the inquisitional police and the conscription.

The dread of Austria's power was stronger even than the hatred she inspired, and neither in Lombardy nor Venetia did any political outbreak occur from 1814 to 1848; but when the new system of "legal resistance" came in vogue throughout the peninsula, it was adopted in those provinces also, and prosecuted with great spirit. For two years Italy had fought with no other weapons than shouts of "Viva Pio Nono;" the Lombards caught up the strain, they had a 'Pope's Hymn,' which did duty instead of a *Marseillaise*. With this they greeted their new pastor, Archbishop Romilli, on his solemn entrance into his diocese on the 5th of September, 1847. The appointment of an Italian, after the decease of a German prelate, was hailed as a return to national principles. Austria was here forced to depart from that system of denationalization, which had included the very clergy. Romilli was an Italian, and came in the name of the Italian pontiff. The rejoicings, renewed on the 8th,

and assuming a character of political demonstration that could not be overlooked, led to the first bloody collision. Remonstrances of a strictly legal kind followed. Lombardy, like most provinces of the empire, had a "constitution," granted by the Emperor Francis I., and grounded upon old local institutions. It had, however, been suffered to fall into almost total desuetude; partly owing to the abuses and encroachments of the omnipotent police; partly, also, owing to the indifference or stubbornness of the people, always determined "to spurn Austria and her gifts," always re-reluctant to incur the charge of complicity with her government even in the discharge of the most sacred duties. But now, a recourse to these national forms such as they were, suited the peculiar mood of the patriots of the day, and the whole country was astir with municipal meetings, commissions, &c., whose ostensible aim was merely to put into operation the constitution of 1816, and see how far Austria could be made amenable to her own laws and compacts. In Venice, Daniele Manin, an advocate, and Nicolo Tommaseo, a literary man, thought they could find, in the letter of that constitution, a sanction for the freedom of the press. Manin presented a petition to that effect in December, 1847, and Tommaseo read a paper to the same purpose before the Athenæum; both of them were arrested, and thrown into prison in the following month.

The Austrians, at this critical moment, were still smarting under a sense of their blunder and discomfiture at Ferrara; and, with a fatality common enough in private life, they fell from one error into another. They lost their temper just when they had most need of it,—lost the very quality by which they had, until then, prevailed over the more hasty and mercurial Italians. The latter, on the other hand, persevered with growing zeal and complete unanimity on their peaceful line of policy, and soon found means to make it tell upon the government on its most vulnerable side. Calling to mind that the Americans had begun their successful struggle for independence by abstaining from the consumption of excisable articles, the Lombards, one and all, resolved to practise a total abstinence from tobacco, snuff, and the lottery, three monopolies from which the imperial government derived a very large revenue. But the populace, not con-

tent with strictly keeping the national pledge themselves, attempted to enforce its universal observance by stopping all persons found smoking in the streets, and requiring them to desist from the forbidden indulgence. On the other hand, the Austrian soldiers, who had smoked before from inclination, now smoked the more to show their loyalty and their contempt for the Italians. Brawls, of course, ensued between the mob and the soldiers; and the latter were officially reminded that they carried swords at their sides for use on provocation. The hint was not lost upon them. On the 3rd of January, a party of military rioters fell upon the defenceless crowd, killed eight persons and wounded fifty-three. Five days afterwards another military outrage was perpetrated at Pavia, and on this occasion two officers were prominent in the fray. Up to the year 1848 nothing could have been more admirable than the discipline of the Austrian army; both officers and soldiers had borne the most contemptuous treatment at the hands of a subjugated race, with a patience and forbearance that excited the astonishment of strangers; but now a change had taken place in their habits, so sudden and complete, that it could only be accounted for by a change of orders. It seemed, indeed, the deliberate purpose of the cabinet of Vienna to goad the Lombards into open rebellion. It did all in its power to aggravate the existing evil by its uncourteous refusal to admit a Lombard deputation (Jan. 10); by its senseless proclamation, precluding all hope of change (Jan. 17), and that in flat contradiction to the promises of redress solemnly given by Archduke Rainer only eight days before (Jan. 9); by Marshal Radetzki's intemperate order of the day (Jan. 15); by arbitrary arrests, proscriptions, and banishments of men, too often conspicuous for rank and character, in some instances perfectly innocent; and finally, by that proclamation of martial law (Feb. 22, though bearing the date of Nov. 24, 1847), which, after the scenes of the two preceding months, seemed hardly needed to add to the unbridled licence of the soldiery.

But all the high-handed efforts of Austria served only to strengthen the tacit compact between her Italian subjects, and to make them more obdurate in their passive resistance. Had this state of things been suffered to work out its own

issues independently of extraneous causes, Austria must have submitted to make terms with the refractory provinces, unless she had it in her power to exterminate their population. But the February revolution of Paris led to a different solution of the problem. Had that event, indeed, been without results on central Europe, it would hardly have accelerated the Lombard movement. But when it became known that revolution had triumphed in the centre of the monarchy, that Vienna was without a government, and the great bond of Austrian unity was dissolved, the Milanese and Venetians could no longer restrain themselves.

On the 18th of March, the day after this news had reached Milan, the municipal authorities, headed by the mayor, Casati, and accompanied by the archbishop, presented to the organs of the government assembled in the palace, petitions praying the installation of a municipal magistracy, the repeal of some severe laws, the liberation of political prisoners, the election of deputies, and the establishment of a national guard. The petitions were rejected, and thereupon the people stormed the palace. The guard was overpowered in a moment; the governor, O'Donnell, was made prisoner; and the tricolour flag was planted on the palace. Some Croats afterwards fired upon the people and killed five or six of them; and this became the signal for a general rising. Marshal Radetzki ordered a battalion of Hungarians to seize the town-hall, where there were only three or four hundred citizens peacefully proceeding with the organisation of the civic guard. Unarmed as they were they ventured upon some show of resistance; but the doors were forced open with cannon, and 300 prisoners were captured. The troops then scoured the broadest streets of the city, and kept possession of the viceregal palace, the cathedral, the town wall, and all the gates. But the inhabitants had intrenched themselves behind lofty and solid barricades, intersecting that vast labyrinth of narrow and crooked streets and alleys, which harbours the densest population of Milan, and which it was not possible to take without a bombardment. Unwilling to have recourse to that extremity until he had communicated with Vienna, Radetzki acted only on the defensive. The conflict was kept up for five days. At last, on the evening of the 23rd, the insurgents succeeded in

seizing one gate and the houses covering it, and thus establishing a communication with their friends outside. Intelligence from Padua, Venice, and other points, showed that the whole country was in a state of revolt, and it became known that the king of Sardinia had crossed the frontier with a formidable army. Radetzki's position was no longer tenable, for Milan is a place of no military strength; he therefore began, at once, his retreat in the direction of Verona. Twelve hours afterwards it might, perhaps, have been too late. Even then great praise is due to the brave veteran for the order and conduct of his retrograde march. Two brigades he had summoned to his aid on the first alarm, came up in this terrible juncture; and with this seasonable reinforcement, in the face of a rising population, hotly pressed by the citizens, he was enabled to carry with him not only all his artillery, his prisoners, and hostages, but even his mutinous Italian soldiery, whom he had now to encompass with more devoted troops, and to spur on with German and Croatian bayonets.

In 1847, and the beginning of 1848, the Austrian police had taken great pains to excite the Lombard peasants against their landlords, and the lower classes against the upper in the towns. Even after the events of March, Count Fiequelmont flattered himself that "it was always in the power of Austria to raise the Lombard peasantry against their superiors."* But the attempt failed wholly, the people expressing their contempt for it in this pointed sentence:—"The Gallician florin (the blood-money paid at Tarnow) shall not pass current in Lombardy." The agricultural population rose *en masse*, and flocked towards Milan, armed with the muskets they had wrested from the surrounding garrisons, often under the captainship of their parish clergy. To such a pitch of daring had they worked themselves, as almost to venture to confront Radetzki at the head of all his host, on his retreat. They fell upon the Tyrolese riflemen of his vanguard at Melignano, or Marignano, a small town on the road to Lodi, twelve miles from Milan; they took prisoner the commanding officer, Count Wratislaw, and demanded the arms of the whole corps. The main body

* Lord Ponsonby's Despatch, Vienna, April 2.

of the retreating army came up at this juncture ; the puny barricades reared by the rustics were forced with cannon, and the town delivered up to military execution. The aroused peasantry returned to the charge nevertheless. They harassed the enemy's rear ; they threw every obstacle in his way, by broken bridges, blocked-up thoroughfares, and flooded fields ; they fell on small detachments, couriers, and staff officers, and swelled the Manara and Ancioni legions, when these, after a short rest, set out in pursuit of the foe from the emancipated city. These swarms of irregular combatants never lost sight of the Austrian, until the Piedmontese battalions came to take the contest upon themselves. Not less than 30,000 of these rustic auxiliaries had entered Milan immediately after the gates had been forced open on the 22nd. So fatal had been the aim of the Swiss and Milanese rifles, both within and without the town, that Radetzki is said to have lost, in the course of the five days, no less than 5,000 men, killed or taken prisoners ; and so many of his artillerymen had fallen at their guns, that at Montechiari, near Brescia, on the 30th, he is represented as having barely five or six of that corps left to man the fifty or sixty cannon which he dragged along on his flight. The Milanese compute their loss in dead at 329.

The revolt of Venice, like that of Milan, immediately followed the news of the revolution in Vienna. The Adriatic capital was lost, not from any show of desperate courage on the part of the people, but solely in consequence of the imbecility and utter cowardice of the civil and military governors of the place. On the morning of the 17th of March, the populace in St. Mark's Place, clamoured for the release of Manin and Tommaseo. Hardly waiting for a reluctant assent, they forced open the prison doors, and bore forth their leaders in triumph. Collisions between the people and the German soldiery were inevitable, especially as the former were cheered on by the Italian grenadiers, who were eager to join them. On the 18th, a turbulent crowd, assembled in St. Mark's Place, was dispersed by a volley of musketry, which killed five and wounded as many of their number. Just enough blood had been shed to increase the commotion, but not to dismay the disaffected, and Count Palfy, the governor, became so alarmed, that he signed an

order for enrolling a civic guard,—an act equivalent to the defiance of Austrian authority in Venice.

There was a lull during the next three days; but meanwhile a conspiracy was on foot, to aid which, the wildest and most extravagant reports were put in circulation: as that the city was to be bombarded, or destroyed by mines dug in various parts of it, or by rockets and other infernal devices, designed to multiply death and destruction; and that all these diabolical schemes were the invention of Colonel Marinovich, the commandant of the arsenal. It is an old proverb in Venice, that whoever is master of the arsenal is master of Venice. This the insurgents knew, and their measures were taken accordingly. Their plan was simple: first, a civic guard, as numerous and well informed as possible; then its introduction either by stratagem or force into the arsenal, and all was accomplished. Marinovich was a man of much vigour and ability, but detested by the marines and workmen, who accused him of great harshness towards the people under him. Certain it is, that he had put an end to a very extensive system of pilfering which had long prevailed among them. He was murdered by the workmen on the 22nd, and on the evening of the same day, the civic guards, led by Manin, took possession of the arsenal. A party of the regiment of marines, which had orders to resist them, rebelled against their leader, Major Bodai, murdered him, and declared for the republic. Count Palfy immediately resigned the civil authority into the hands of the military commander, Count Zichy, who without delay signed a capitulation with the municipal authorities, by virtue of which, impregnable Venice, with all its fortresses by land and sea, with all the *material* of war,—30,000 muskets, the military chest, with 36,000,000 of Austrian lire (£1,200,000)—were given up to the insurgents. The Italian soldiers, nearly 4,000 men, were to remain in Venice; the foreign part of the garrison, with three months' pay, to be sent by safe conveyance across the sea to Trieste.

Even after the capitulation was signed, proof was not wanting of what might have been effected if the governors had possessed a grain of resolution. The Kinski regiment refused to lay down their arms; gun-boats were brought up before their barracks to compel them; still they stubbornly

refused to submit to such an indignity ; and so late as the 25th, they were only got rid of by a compliance with all their demands as to military honours.

Thus Venice, almost by a miracle, had snatched from the cowardice of her foreign rulers, the freedom which her no less cowardly native rulers had tamely surrendered half a century before. The republic of St. Mark was revived ; the old standard was brought to light, the old war-cry revived. A provisional government was established, of which Manin had the presidency, with Tommaseo for his chief counsellor. But one unaccountable oversight had been committed : the Austrian fleet at Pola was lost, and with it the means of preventing a blockade of Venice. The disposition of mind of the Italian seamen on board the fleet, might be judged of from the conduct of the marines both in the harbour and the arsenal, and still more clearly from the acts of the men and officers on board an Austrian frigate stationed at Naples, and two brigs cruising in the Adriatic, who, on the first announcement of the Lombard movement, hoisted the national colours, and made sail for Venice. The provisional government made sure of the same result with the whole of the Austro-Italian fleet, and issued orders to that effect. But they put their despatches into the hands of the captain of a steamer, which was to convey the ex-governor Palfy, and other Austrian officers, to Trieste, in accordance with the capitulation. The captain's instructions were, that he should touch first at Pola, and deliver the important papers of which he was the bearer, to the fleet ; but he was compelled, as it appears, by his passengers to make for Trieste without delay. Thus his despatches fell into the hands of the Austrian authorities, who took the necessary measures at Pola, and had it in their power, by means of the land batteries, to keep the fleet in check, and secure, by main force, the allegiance of the mutinous crew. Only twenty-two officers were able to escape from Pola to Venice, where they arrived on the 13th of April.

Except in the strong fortresses of Verona, Mantua, and Peschiera, the Austrians retained no hold on any part of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The dukes of Parma and Modena fled from their dominions, and all the other powers of Italy sent troops to aid the provisional government of

Milan. On the 22nd of March, the Sardinian minister officially assured the Austrian ambassador that he would "do all that depended upon him to insure the relations of amity and good-neighbourhood between the two states." On the very next day, the Sardinian troops entered Lombardy, and on the 30th, the main body, led by Charles Albert in person, arrived at Lodi. When the advanced guard reached Milan on the 27th, Radetzki was still within twenty-five miles of that city. Had Charles Albert made two or three forced marches, he might easily have prevented the concentration of the Austrian forces, and extinguished the war. Instead of this, he allowed Radetzki to pursue his march without molestation for a week, and take up an impregnable position under the walls of Verona, within the triangle formed by that fortress, and the two other strongholds of Mantua and Peschiera.

Delay was now the policy of the Austrian commander, to allow the arrival of General Welden, with 10,000 men, from the Tyrol, and General Count Nugent, with 30,000 men, from the Friuli. There was apparently no impediment to the approach of these reinforcements, for Radetzki, in his official despatch, at this time represents Charles Albert as "inactive at all points, and seeming to have neither the courage nor the power to act upon the offensive," though his best chance of success lay in assailing the Austrian army in detail, rather than waiting until concentration should have made it invincible. Slight engagements took place almost daily between the advanced posts of either army, attended with alternate success; but for five weeks, the king of Sardinia never attempted to bring on a general battle. Meanwhile, Nugent and Welden pursued their operations without check, and by the 25th of June, the whole Venetian territory, with the exception of the capital, had been reconquered by Austria.

On the 6th of May, Charles Albert insanely attacked Radetzki in his impregnable position before Verona, and was defeated with a loss of 1,500 men. On the 18th he laid siege to Peschiera, which surrendered on the 30th; but the advantage of this capture was more than counterbalanced by the junction of Nugent's army with that of Radetzki. Whilst the king of Sardinia was busy pushing his conquests

farther north, along the shores of Lago di Garda, Radetzki made an unexpected sortie from Verona, and appeared before Vicenza with 30,000 men. General Durando, the commandant, capitulated, and entered into an engagement for himself and his troops, not to take up arms against Austria for three months. Thus the Piedmontese lost the aid of the Roman contingent; the Neapolitan troops had previously been recalled in consequence of the events at home, in the month of May.

On the same day (June 10) when Radetzki signed the capitulation of Vicenza, Charles Albert affixed his signature to an act presented to him by the provisional government of Milan, for establishing the union of Lombardy to the kingdom of Sardinia. Already Austria had intimated her willingness to acquiesce in that arrangement. She had proposed a division of the country by the Mincio, retaining to herself the fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua, provided the Lombards would assume their portion of the public debt; and she had invoked the mediation of England and France towards effecting a peace on that basis; but Lord Palmerston had refused the mediation on the part of England, on the ground that the terms offered by Austria were not liberal enough; and the provisional government of Milan would accept no terms from Austria short of the entire surrender of the Venetian territory also.

Thinking that the Austrians were still before Vicenza, Charles Albert marched against Verona on the 12th of June; but already Radetzki had returned thither, and the Piedmontese were obliged to retire within their lines, where they relapsed into inaction. In the beginning of July, the Piedmontese army of 65,000 men occupied a line of about thirty miles in length, from near Mantua on its right, to Rivoli on its left. The head-quarters, which had been at Peschiera, were removed to Vallegio, and afterwards to Riverbella, and the strength of the army was gradually accumulated on the right wing, in order to invest Mantua, whilst the left wing was most imprudently weakened. The lines of Rivoli were not defended by more than 3,000 troops, and those of Somma Campagna, extending from Bussolongo, on the Upper Adige, to Vallegio, on the Mincio, by not more than 5,000. Radetzki meanwhile was preparing to seize the game which his un-

skilful antagonist was playing into his hands. Seeing that Charles Albert's whole attention was directed towards the south, he kept him in that disposition by well-contrived feints. A little victory gained by General Bava over 3,000 or 4,000 Austrians at Governolo, near the junction of the Mincio and the Po, also contributed to the same end, and filled the king and his army with fallacious hopes. But suddenly, on the 22nd of July, news arrived that the Austrians had been quietly passing the Upper Adige, at the foot of the mountain that overlooks Rivoli, and had already descended to La Corona, driving before them the few Piedmontese stationed there. Next day they pushed on from La Corona, and carried the plateau, and all the lines of Rivoli; whilst another Austrian force, 25,000 strong, under General d'Aspre, assaulted the lines of Somma Campagna. Their 5,000 defenders made a gallant resistance, but the force of the assailants was overwhelming, and the Austrians regained the whole territory between the Upper Adige and the Lago di Garda and the Mincio, from the foot of Montebaldo, and from Bussolongo to Vallegio, Peschiera being placed in a state of complete isolation.

Getting together nearly 30,000 men, Charles Albert advanced, on the evening of the 25th, against the heights between Bussolongo and Vallegio. The decisive battle which was fought next day, bears the name of Somma Campagna, where the centre of the Austrian force was established. It lasted from five in the morning to five in the afternoon, the Piedmontese having at first the advantage of numbers, and fighting with desperate courage, until Radetzki brought up a reserve of nearly 20,000 men from Verona, and obtained a complete victory.

The retreat began on the following day, and on the 3rd of August Charles Albert arrived at Milan, where he culpably suffered the inhabitants to compromise themselves by erecting barricades, and making other futile preparations for a battle, which he promised to fight before the walls of the capital, whilst he was, at the same time, entering into a capitulation with Radetzki. When this fact became known in Milan, the excitement was intense, and it was not without difficulty that Charles Albert escaped with life from a city, whose inhabitants but a few weeks before had hailed him as

their deliverer and chosen sovereign. Next day the Austrians marched into Milan, and Radetzki issued an address to his troops, in which he said, with just pride, "You have marched from victory to victory; and, in the short space of a fortnight, advanced victoriously from the Adige to the Ticino. The imperial flag waves again from the walls of Milan, and no enemy any longer treads the Lombardian territory."

On the 9th of August, an armistice was granted to the vanquished king by Marshal Radetzki, on as liberal terms as could have been expected, at a moment when there was no obstacle to the advance of the imperial forces to Turin, and their dictation, within the walls of that capital, of such a treaty of peace as would have severely punished their recent assailant, and thrown upon Sardinia the expenses of the war. The time of truce was spent by Charles Albert in preparing to renew, under the most adverse conditions, a struggle in which he had failed so wretchedly when favoured by so many conspiring circumstances. Agreeably to the stipulations entered into between the belligerents upon the close of the last campaign, notice was to be given of the denunciation of the armistice eight days before the recommencement of hostilities. The king of Sardinia having resolved to open the war on the 20th of March, 1849, the required notice was given on the 12th to Radetzki, who immediately issued an order of the day, concluding with the inspiring war-cry, "Forward, soldiers, to Turin!"

Though the resumption of hostilities was more sudden than Radetzki had expected, he was far from being taken by surprise, as the cabinet of Turin had been led to believe. His measures were adopted with so much promptitude and secrecy, that, on the night of the 19th, five of the six corps composing the Austrian army in Italy, were concentrated round Pavia, ready to take the offensive the very moment the armistice should expire, whilst the people of Milan and the Piedmontese believed that he was retreating on the Adda. But his plan was to carry the war into Piedmont, and dictate a peace under the walls of Turin. At twelve o'clock on the 20th of March, the moment when the armistice expired, the Austrians crossed the Ticino without encountering the slightest obstruction from the enemy; for Ramorino, who commanded the Lombard division of Charles

Albert's army, had disobeyed the orders given him to occupy La Cava, so as to be able to act in the direction of Pavia. On the following day an engagement took place at Mortara, in which two Piedmontese divisions were defeated with a loss of 600 men and five cannons. This disaster, and the advanced position of the Austrians, placed the Piedmontese army in such a perilous position as left its commander no choice but to fight a decisive battle at Novara on the 23rd. The Piedmontese were defeated beyond all possibility of recovery, and that night Charles Albert abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel.

Next day an interview took place between Radetzki and the young king, and an armistice was concluded upon the following terms: occupation by 20,000 Austrians of the country between the Ticino and Sesia; joint occupation with the Piedmontese of the fortress of Alessandria; disbanding of Hungarian, Lombard, and Polish troops in the service of Sardinia; retirement of the Sardinian fleet from the Adriatic; negotiations for a permanent peace to be entered upon without delay.

While these successes attended the Austrian arms in Piedmont, events of a different character were occurring in Lombardy. Brescia, the second city of the province, with 40,000 inhabitants, having been left under the guard of only 500 men in the citadel, determined to rise and strike for independence. An ineffectual attempt was made to capture the citadel, and the insurgents were forced by the few troops in the neighbourhood to shut themselves up in the town. General Haynau, in command of the troops then blockading Venice, arrived before Brescia on the 30th of March, with between 3,000 and 4,000 men. The gates of the city were captured without the discharge of a single gun; but then, the contest commenced. A part of the town being in flames, the people endeavoured, in vain, to escape over the walls, and were driven into a corner between two of the gates, which was fired at all points, and where it is believed that great numbers of them were burned to death. But the massacre did not end with the combat, though it is stated in the official bulletin, that, when all resistance was over, "the bodies of the insurgents lay in heaps in the streets and houses." The most hideous

incident of this terrible slaughter is reserved for the closing paragraph of General Haynau's bulletin: "All prisoners taken with arms in their hands were shot publicly."

Brescia was now a heap of ruins; the district was mulcted to the amount of two millions of florins, and one million compensation money for the widows and orphans of the slain, the wounded and the troops engaged.

Venice, which for a while had declared herself incorporated with the prospective kingdom of Northern Italy, had resumed her republican character after the capitulation of Milan, and had elected Manin dictator. After the desertion of Naples, the Austrian occupation of Tuscany, the French occupation of Rome, and even after the total defeat of the Piedmontese at Novara, by which the Venetians were deprived of the efficient aid of the Sardinian navy, they replied, on the 2nd of April, 1849, when summoned by Haynau to surrender, that they were resolved to resist "at any cost, and to the last." Yet they had no stores of provisions sufficient for a protracted siege, they were exceedingly in want of money, and any hopes they might have placed in foreign diplomacy were soon destroyed by the fate of their appeal addressed, on the 4th of April, to the governments of France and England. Both declined to offer a mediation which Austria would by no means accept at such a moment, and Lord Palmerston coupled his refusal with advice to make terms with Austria while it was yet possible.

On the 4th of May, Marshal Radetzki arrived at the head-quarters of the besieging army, and immediately issued a proclamation, summoning the Venetians to surrender within forty-eight hours, and offering a general amnesty to all common soldiers and all subordinate officers of the army and navy, and permission to every one who might choose to do so, to leave the city either by land or water during the space of forty-eight hours after the capitulation. These terms being rejected, the siege was prosecuted with vigour, and an attack was begun on the fort of Malgherra, situated to the west of Venice, and at that time the only spot of the mainland in the possession of the Venetians. Though an ordinary fort of the third order, and feebly manned, yet so ably was it defended, that its reduction gave the besiegers full employment for three weeks.

Two miles of water still intervened between the Austrians and the devoted city, which their guns were unable to reach; whilst it was defended by the fortification on San Secundo and other islands, two batteries on the remains of the railway viaduct, several arches of which had been blown up, and by one hundred gun-boats, each carrying four guns. The bombardment began on the 15th, and the firing was kept up day and night, but with no great success, for the balls and bombs for the most part fell short. Vexed by the fruitless expenditure of an enormous amount of ammunition, the Austrians had recourse to the novel device of bombarding by means of balloons, five of which, each twenty-five feet in diameter, were constructed at Treviso. From the car attached to each balloon, five bombs were suspended by long isolated copper wires, one end of which was in communication with a powerful galvanic battery placed on the shore. The balloon having been launched and carried by the wind in the required direction, the cutting of the wires would effect the double purpose of firing the fuses and detaching the bombs, which would then fall perpendicularly and explode on reaching the ground. By this means it was thought that twenty-five bombs a day might be thrown into the city when the wind was favourable. Experiments made previously at Treviso had succeeded completely; but when the trial was made over the lagoons, on the 24th of June, with three balloons, it failed in consequence of a change in the wind after the balloons were discharged, and the bombs, instead of reaching the city, fell into the sea.

Toward the end of July the incessant roar of cannon, which for thirty-two days and nights had sounded upon the ears of the Venetians, began gradually to subside; leading the besieged to conjecture that the enemy had abandoned the idea of taking the city by storm, and had resolved to rely for its reduction on famine, the first effects of which were now manifesting themselves. The crowds round the bakers' shops were already so dense that several persons had been pressed to death. Meat and wine were almost completely exhausted, and bread of the worst quality exceedingly scarce. The blockade both by sea and land was so close as to exclude all hope of obtaining supplies; and that Venice must fall by hunger in a short time was now apparent to

all. Still the town continued perfectly tranquil, nor was the determination to resist the enemy in the slightest degree impaired; all classes were still resolved to hold out to the last. Meanwhile Marshal Radetzki had been preparing means to put their fortitude to an unexpected proof. When the silence of the lagoons had for many days been unbroken by a single hostile gun, on Sunday, the 31st of July, at midnight, when the populace were in their beds, and the higher classes, as was their custom, were promenading in the illuminated Piazza di San Marco, suddenly they found themselves in the midst of a shower of red-hot shot, which covered at once nearly three-fourths of the city. In a moment all Venice was alive. The streets were crowded with men, women, and children, hurrying from the exposed districts toward the Castello and the public gardens, which the projectiles did not reach. But the alarm did not affect the constancy of the Venetians; those who were houseless quartered themselves on the inhabitants of the safe quarters, with as much unconcern as if all were members of one family. By-and-by it was found that the balls seldom, if ever, penetrated further than the roof and one story, and the inhabitants remained unconcerned in the lower parts of their houses. Some buildings were set on fire, but the flames were quickly extinguished.

The means by which the Austrians succeeded, at length, in throwing projectiles into the city, was by mounting eighty pounders and Paixhan guns of great calibre at San Giuliano, and firing with muzzles greatly elevated. The torrent of balls, which fell incessantly day and night, had no other effect than to destroy property, and to demolish the most beautiful works of architecture and sculpture. Many churches suffered severely; nearly every palace on the Grand Canal was perforated, some of them with from thirty to forty balls; and one shot struck the Rialto.

Provisions were hourly becoming more scarce; the supply could last but two weeks longer; and yet the people very quietly said, "We will hold out until we have nothing more to eat, and then the Croats may come and do what they please." To add to the horrors of their situation, the cholera broke out amongst them in its most malignant form, its ravages increased, no doubt, by the scanty and unwholesome

food on which they had been compelled for some time to subsist; yet amid all these disasters not the least sign of turbulence or despondency appeared in the afflicted city.

On the 14th of August, Marshal Radetzki, aware of the state to which Venice was reduced, renewed his efforts to induce it to capitulate, by offering nearly the same terms that had been previously rejected. But rejected they were again, though ammunition, food, medicine, drink, and even water was failing, and though the cholera was carrying off from eighty to a hundred a day. On the 17th, however, the president of the republic, after consulting the commandant of the French squadron and the French consul, decided that longer resistance was impossible, and that a deputation should be sent to the Austrian camp with an offer of capitulation. The offer, received on the 19th by the Austrian commander, was transmitted to Milan, and three days elapsed before Marshal Radetzki's answer arrived. It was an anxious interval for the prostrate Venetians, who feared that the terms to be imposed upon them would be rigorous in the extreme. They had but two days' provisions left, and those of the worst kind; the progress of the cholera was frightful; the absolute and unconditional surrender of the city within two days inevitable. Great, therefore, was the joy of the Venetians, when it was made known to them that Radetzki had generously forborne to impose any additional stipulations on his fallen foe. The capitulation was agreed to by the municipality of Venice, in whose favour the Provisional Government and the National Assembly had abdicated their powers; the firing ceased on both sides, and the republic of Venice was no more.

CHAPTER IX.

Revolt and Bombardment of Vienna. Abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand.

THE proceedings of the Imperial Diet, from the time of its formal opening in Vienna, on the 22nd of July, 1848, down to the catastrophe of October, were marked by utter incapacity for any of the objects it was chosen to promote. It

occupied itself but nominally with the structure of the constitution; what it really aspired to, was the immediate direction of the government by the terror which it affected to exercise over the capital, the ministry, and the empire. The condition of the people of Vienna, and especially of the masses of the labouring population in the suburbs, had become frightfully necessitous. Money was more freely distributed by the leaders of the movement for building barricades, than for any pursuits of lawful industry, which, indeed, were universally checked; and the Assembly continued to sit and wrangle within the grasp of the power which was one day to destroy all semblance of control and authority.

The first explosion after the opening the Assembly, took place on the 23rd of August, and appears to have been confined to the class of workmen, who were irritated at the reduction of wages which had just taken place. A conflict ensued near the Prater and the Brigettenau, between the mob and a detachment of the national guard: six persons were killed; but the government allayed the tumult, by distributing relief to the people in the shape of fictitious public work. This opportunity was, however, wisely taken to dissolve the "Committee of Public Safety," on the ground of its having utterly failed to effect its proposed object, whilst it secretly tended to favour the projects of anarchy. On the 14th of September the disturbances were renewed with a more hostile and threatening character. On the evening of that day, the offices of the minister of war were surrounded by large bodies of armed men, consisting partly of national guards, partly of members of the academic legion, wearing on their hats a printed bill, to the effect that "the restoration of the Committee of Public Safety could alone save the threatened liberties of the free-minded citizens of Vienna." This tumultuous body was dispersed by the best portion of the national guard, backed by the troops of the line.

The disorders reached their climax on the 6th of October On the 3rd, the emperor of Austria, who, meanwhile, had returned to Schönbrunn, issued a proclamation dissolving the Hungarian Diet, putting Hungary under martial law, and appointing Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, commissioner plenipotentiary for the whole kingdom, with unlimited power,

civil and military. Orders were given that several regiments should be dispatched from Vienna to aid the Ban. Among the troops thus destined to act against the Hungarians, was the Richter battalion of grenadiers, who had been quartered for many years in Vienna, and were unwilling to accept the service imposed upon them. Accordingly, they communicated with the national guards of the suburb in which their barracks were situated, and with the academical legion, both which corps promised that measures should be taken to prevent the departure of the grenadiers.

Parties of the confederates went by night, and broke up the railway to some distance from the station, whilst others erected a barricade on the Tabor bridge, which the battalion would have to cross in order to reach the next station. The grenadiers were ordered to storm the barricade, but instead of doing so, they went over and joined the national guards and the academical legion, now assembled behind it in considerable force. Cavalry, infantry, and artillery were employed against the mutineers, but were completely routed by the latter, who then marched into the town. The conflict became general, and the government troops were everywhere defeated. The war office was stormed; Count Latour, the minister of war, was taken there, and savagely murdered. His mutilated body was flung out of a window, stripped naked, and hung on a lamp-post, where it was exposed for a whole day to the brutal indignities of the mob.

At six o'clock, the arsenal was the only place left in the city for the refuge of the troops and national guards who remained faithful to the government. The insurgents assailed it with cannon-balls and Congreve-rockets; the garrison replied with grape and canister; and though part of the building took fire, they succeeded in keeping down the flames, and holding their assailants aloof through the entire night; nor did they yield until next morning, when summoned to do so by their own commander, Count Auersperg, who had entered into stipulations with the Diet for the surrender. The arsenal was given up into the hands of the national guard and the academical legion, who had engaged to occupy and defend it; but it was immediately plundered by the populace. Two hundred thousand new muskets became the spoil of the rabble, and with them all the trophies and

military relics, collected from the period of the crusades to the present times. The sword of Scanderbeg was sold in the streets for two shillings.

In the midst of these bloody deeds, the Diet, now reduced to the rump of a faction by the withdrawal of all the Bohemian deputies, declared its sittings permanent, and elected a Committee of Safety, whose decrees should be signed by the minister Hornbostel. A deputation was also appointed to carry an address to the emperor, demanding the formation of a new and popular cabinet, including Doblhoff and Hornbostel; the removal of the Ban Jellachich from his governorship of Hungary; the revocation of the last proclamation against the Hungarians; and an amnesty for those implicated in the riots of that day, including, especially, the avowed murderers of Count Latour. The Diet made itself an accomplice after the fact in a deed, which it described as "nothing more than an act of popular self-preservation, resulting from regretable circumstances."

The emperor returned an evasive answer, and quitted the palace of Schönbrunn at four A.M. on the 7th, with the other members of the imperial family, leaving behind him a sealed proclamation, which the minister Kraus read the same morning to the Diet. In this document, the emperor said he had done all that a sovereign could do; he had renounced the unlimited power he had received from his forefathers; he had been obliged, in May last, to quit the palace of his late father; he had come back without any guarantee, and in full confidence, to his people. A strong, but audacious party, however, had urged things to the last extremity; pillage and crime reigned in Vienna, and the minister of war had been murdered. He trusted in God and his own good right, and he now left the vicinity of his capital in order to find means to bring aid to his oppressed people. Kraus added, that he had refused to countersign "this unconstitutional and threatening proclamation."

The Diet having already assumed to itself executive as well as deliberative powers, began, along with the three ministers, to act as a provisional government, affecting, however, the observance of constitutional forms, and using the emperor's name to counteract the emperor's measures. Deputations were sent, one after another, to invite the monarch

to return, under the implied peril of forfeiting his throne. Count Auersperg, who was outside Vienna with 12,000 men, was called upon to come in, and aid in maintaining order within the walls; that is, in reality, to surrender himself to the forces of the Diet. This he declined, on the plea that he could only act under the instructions of the minister of war; the orders of the late minister, the murdered Latour, did not allow him to enter Vienna, but he would obey a new minister of war as soon as any should be duly appointed. The Diet succeeded no better with Jellachich, who was at Ebersdorf with his Croats, within two hours' march of the city, having arrived there on the 9th, by forced marches from Raab, where he had been severely defeated by the Hungarians. Summoned to retire, he replied bluntly that he was the emperor's officer, commanding the emperor's forces, and that he awaited the imperial orders. The Diet then turned to Jellachich's enemies, the Hungarians, who had pursued him to the confines of Austria; and his majesty's rebels, appealed to by his majesty's ministers, returned a gracious promise that, if called on by the Diet, they would support the Viennese against the common enemy, invade the metropolitan province, and clear it of his majesty's forces. But the Diet, which had not hesitated to sanction the murder of the emperor's minister, and the robbery of his arsenal, nor scrupled to usurp his power, was overcome with constitutional qualms at the thought of extending to the Hungarians the invitation which the latter burned to receive, though such a step would have rendered the Diet invincible by any force that Austria could at that time have brought against it.

The empire was now in a state of extreme peril and almost unintelligible confusion; nor was this dismal imbroglio the work of the revolutionary party alone. The policy of the Austrian cabinet from the events of March to this period, was characterized only by indecision, inconsistency, and duplicity. It contributed neither to consolidate the movement in which it originated, nor to counteract the evils to which that movement gave birth. It had been faithful to no principle it professed as its own. It had not protected the interest it promised to guard, but brought the imperial authority first into contempt, and then into danger. It had

been weak, timid, intriguing, and perfidious. No small part of its dealings with Hungary had been eminently of this character; raising hopes which it never meant to fulfil, making promises which it had no intention to perform, it thus greatly contributed to render formidable that insurrection, which was now hurrying thousands of armed men to rescue from the menacing hands of loyalty the beleaguered capital of sedition and treason. Without question, it was the consciousness of the insincerity with which they had been treated that aggravated the hostile passions of the Hungarians, already too prone to recognise an insult and revenge an injury. To be satisfied of the duplicity that was practised, we need only recall the proceedings toward the Hungarians and Croatians. On one day, the emperor grants to the Hungarians political government and control over the Croatians; on another, the Croatians are furnished with men, money, and arms, and encouraged to resist all encroachments of the Hungarians. At one time the Ban of Croatia is proclaimed a traitor; at another, he is nominated imperial commissioner plenipotentiary for Hungary.

The time was now come when there should be no more faltering, if the throne of Habsburg was to be saved. Quietly seated under the protecting guns of the strong fortress of Olmütz, the emperor threw off all disguise, and in his proclamations of the 16th and 19th of October, declared open war against the revolt in his capital and other places. The rebels were to be put down by force of arms, and the murderers of his faithful servants Lamberg and Latour, should be handed over to avenging justice. To this end, he appointed Prince Windischgrätz commander-in-chief of all his forces, except those under Radetzki in Italy, and he gave the prince full power to do all things "according to his judgment, within the shortest time."

On the 23rd, Prince Windischgrätz arrived before Vienna with an army of some 100,000 men and 140 guns, and summoned the city to surrender within forty-eight hours. Meanwhile, preparations had been made for its defence with much bustle, but little practical ability. Bodies of fighting men had flocked in from the country round; barricades and fortifications had been raised, and mounted with cannon;

the command of the national guard had been given to Messenhauser, formerly an officer in the Austrian army, and that of the mobile guard to General Bem, a Pole, and a man of remarkable military talent. The forty-eight hours allowed by Prince Windischgrätz having expired, the attack began on the morning of the 26th, and, after twelve hours' fighting, the exterior line of the Leopoldstadt faubourg was taken, but the interior remained in the hands of its defenders. The next day was spent in unavailing negotiations. On the 28th, the attack was renewed on all sides with great vigour, especially on the east and south. The city was set on fire in many places, and the contest was continued all night in the Leopoldstadt and Wieden faubourgs. On the 29th, the Viennese sent a deputation to Prince Windischgrätz, with proposals of surrender. The prince refused to abate his previous demand for disarming the workmen and the students, but agreed to suspend hostilities for twelve hours, while the besieged held a last deliberation.

The deputation returned, and summoned a meeting of the town council, which was attended by Messenhauser, the commander of the academic legion, and some members of the Diet. Messenhauser declared that he and the officers under him were ready to hold out, if the council decided to do so; but the situation was nearly desperate. The troops were in possession of the suburbs to the foot of the glacis, and the walls were incapable of general defence against escalade. On the question being put to the vote, it was resolved by three-fourths of the town councillors that the defence should cease. This resolution was announced to Prince Windischgrätz, and the disarming was actually commenced; but on the 30th, a brisk cannonade was heard in the direction of Hungary, the sentinels on St. Stephen's Tower announced the long-expected approach of the Hungarian army, and the citizens were again summoned to arms, notwithstanding their engagements to surrender. To punish this breach of faith, Windischgrätz recommenced the bombardment of some of the faubourgs known as the most rebellious, and the firing was continued until nightfall.

The cannonade which had so raised the hopes of the Viennese in the morning was that of an engagement which took place at Schwechat, twelve miles from Vienna,

between a Hungarian army of 22,000 men, coming to the aid of the city, and 28,000 imperial troops despatched against them under Auersperg and Jellachich. The Hungarians had been awaiting on the frontier for many days the call of the Austrian Diet. At last, on the 28th of October, Kossuth himself joined the army. The twenty columns of fire that rose that night from amid the palaces of Vienna, showed but too fearfully the need there was of speedy aid for the devoted city; and without waiting longer on the Austrian Diet, Kossuth gave the order to advance. It was too late, for on that very day had the fatal blow been struck. On the 30th the Hungarians came up with the scattered detachments of the Imperialists, drove them out of Fischamend and Albern, carried Mannsworth by storm, and pushed on toward Vienna, whilst Jellachich and Auersperg awaited their approach in most secure and advantageous positions.

The main body of the Hungarians was between the Danube and the Schwartzen Lachen, a sluggish arm of that river, as broad and deep as the Danube itself. At the head of this body of water the Austrians, with a park of sixty guns, stood ready to receive them; while ten regiments, principally cavalry, had been sent out to gain their rear and inclose them in the defile. So gross a blunder could not escape the military eye of Görgei, who was at that time invested with but an unimportant command; he directed Kossuth's attention to the fact, and by an immediate retreat they narrowly escaped the trap and avoided a total defeat, in which an hour's advance would inevitably have involved them. They were pursued by the victorious Austrians both that day and the following, and driven back into Hungary. This was the battle of Schwechat, in which Colonel Görgei, for the efficient service rendered in saving the Hungarian army from the *cul de sac*, was promoted on the ground to the rank of general.

In consequence of the bombardment of the 30th, the city, on the following morning, declared, for a second time, its unconditional submission. A deputation from the municipality communicated to the field-marshal the fact that the greater part of the citizens were willing to surrender without reserve; but that they were too feeble to carry their deter-

mination into effect in opposition to the radical club, the committee of students, and the armed mob, who threatened to set the city on fire, and bury themselves beneath its ruins. After receiving the deputation, the imperial general ordered large bodies of troops into the faubourgs, the unconditional surrender of which was betokened by the white flags hanging from the bastions and the adjoining houses; but no sooner had the unsuspecting troops made their appearance on the open glacis, than their ranks were torn by a murderous fire of grape and musketry, poured upon them from the ramparts. Incensed by this treacherous act, Prince Windischgrätz ordered a bombardment of the inner city, and an attack by storm on three of the eastern and south-eastern gates. The imperial library, several public buildings, and two churches were set on fire. The Burg Thor was carried by the troops, and a short but bloody fight began in the streets. The defenders being still, as on the 29th and 30th, divided among themselves—some only of them for fighting, more for yielding—the success of the besiegers was rapid; and before midnight the greater part of the capital was subdued. The contest, however, was continued at detached points on the following day, and the north-westerly parts of the city were not mastered until dawn on the 2nd of November. The fire in the imperial library was extinguished without much injury to its valuable contents, but the Augustin church was nearly destroyed. Prince Windischgratz proclaimed that, in consequence of the breach of capitulation, the conditions which he had at first agreed to were null and void; he declared Vienna in a state of siege; the academic legion dissolved for ever, and the national guard for an indefinite time; all newspapers and political associations suspended; domiciliary visits to be made for the discovery of concealed arms, &c.

The loss of property occasioned by the siege of the Austrian capital has been estimated at about a million and a quarter sterling. The loss of life was much less than might have been expected after so protracted and desperate a struggle. Of the 1,600 persons arrested, nine only were punished with death, nine sentenced to imprisonment for a term of years, 996 discharged, and the remainder were tried by civil tribunal. Many of the most influential

participators in the revolt escaped by flight before the troops entered the city. General Bem made his way into Hungary in disguise. Among the prisoners tried by court-martial were two members of the Diet of Frankfort, sent thence by the deputies of the extreme left to aid by their counsels the insurrection in Vienna. One of them, Robert Blum, member for Leipsig, being condemned, "on his own confession of having made revolutionary speeches, and opposed armed resistance to the imperial troops," was shot on the 9th of November. The other deputy, Fröbel, was sentenced to be hanged, but afterwards received a free pardon on the score of "extenuating circumstances." Messenhauser, the commander of the national guard, was shot.

After the subjection of Vienna, the imperial government entered upon a conciliatory course towards all but the Hungarians, who were sharply admonished against lending themselves to the intrigues of the traitor Kossuth. A new ministry was formed, the two principal members of which were Prince Felix Schwartzenberg, premier and minister for foreign affairs, and Count Francis Stadion, minister of the interior. The Diet assembled at Kremsier on the 22nd of November. On the 27th the premier delivered a speech declaring the principles on which he and his colleagues proposed to act in their government. So far as appeared from that manifesto, the statesmen who subscribed to it were honestly and judiciously intent on consolidating the liberties acquired by the revolution of March; but read by the light of subsequent events, it remains a monument of the premier's bad faith. Prince Schwartzenberg declared that, whilst resolved to vindicate that authority in the executive without which no government could exist, the cabinet disclaimed all reactionary intentions, and instead of endeavouring to re-establish the Austria of 1815, they sought to develop a new Austria suited to the altered state of Europe. This was to be effected by organizing a true representation of the people, on the basis of free institutions and local self-government, with a vigorous central administration. Such a constitution of the empire would be the very opposite to that which existed down to 1848; that was a centralised bureaucracy, ruling over provinces kept in a state of subjection, separa-

tion, and mutual ignorance: the new plan, if realized, would have been a popular machinery of government, and a federalized consolidation. The passages in the ministerial programme, which related to the organization of the state, were as follows:—

"We undertake the administration of the power of government, which his Majesty has handed to us, and at the same time the responsibility of that power; for while it is our firm resolution to keep aloof from all unconstitutional influence, we shall not allow any encroachments upon the executive authority. . . . We wish for a constitutional monarchy uprightly and without reservation. We desire that form of government whose existence and secure character can be recognised by the monarch and the representative body of Austria. We wish these to be founded on equal rights, and the free development of all nationalities; as also on the equality of all members of the state before the law, secured by publicity in all branches of the legislature. We wish that the internal concerns of the country districts should be carried on by free members, and by a free movement among the country people themselves; the whole being bound together by the common bond of a strong central power. . . . The cabinet does not mean to stand in the rear of the progress to free and popular institutions. It feels itself in duty bound to head that movement. . . . The free state must be founded on free communes. It is strictly necessary that, through a liberal communal law, each commune be guaranteed its independence of management within the limits prescribed in reference to the general welfare. As a necessary and unavoidable consequence of the independence of the communes, may be mentioned the independence of the state government, and the regulating of the authorities in a way corresponding with the wants of the times. Suitable measures will be laid before you regarding those circumstances, as well as relating to the improvement, in a constitutional spirit, of the administration of justice, the establishment of communal tribunals instead of patrimonial ones, and the complete severance of government from the affairs of justice."

A project, which had been discussed in May, after the

flight to Inspruck, was now carried into effect ; and on the 2nd of December, the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated the Austrian throne ; Francis Charles, his next brother, and legal heir, renounced the succession ; and Francis Joseph, a young man only in his nineteenth year, and son of the renouncing archduke, was proclaimed emperor of Austria, &c., by the name of Francis Joseph the First. The young emperor's inaugural proclamation was far from indicating the intention he cherished to return to the old despotic system :—

"We, Francis Joseph the First, by the grace of God, emperor of Austria, &c.

"By the resignation of our beloved uncle, the Emperor and King Ferdinand the First, in Hungary and Bohemia of that name the Fifth, and by the resignation of our beloved father, the Lord Archduke Francis Charles, and summoned by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction to assume the crown of the empire, proclaim hereby solemnly to our people, the fact of our ascension of the throne, under the name of Francis Joseph the First.

"We are convinced of the necessity and the value of free institutions, and enter with confidence on the path of a prosperous reformation of the monarchy.

"On the basis of true liberty, on the basis of the equality of rights of all our people, and the equality of all citizens before the law, and on the basis of their equally partaking in the representation and legislation, the country will rise to its ancient grandeur ; it will acquire new strength to resist the storms of the time ; it will be a hall to shelter the tribes of many tongues, under the sceptre of our fathers.

"Jealous of the glory of the crown, and resolved to preserve the monarchy uncurtailed, but ready to share our privilege with the representatives of our people, we hope, by the assistance of God and the co-operation of our people, to succeed in uniting all the countries and tribes of the monarchy into one integral state. We have had severe trials ; tranquillity and order have been disturbed in many parts of the empire. A civil war is even now raging in one part of the monarchy. Preparations have been made to

restore legal order everywhere. The conquest over rebellion and the return of domestic peace, are the first conditions to the great work which we now take in hand.

"In this, we rely confidently on the sensible and candid co-operation of the nation by its representatives.

"We rely on the sound sense of the loyal inhabitants of the country, whom the new laws on the abolition of servitude and imposts have admitted to a full enjoyment of civil rights.

"We rely on the loyal servants of the state.

"We expect our glorious army will persevere in their ancient fidelity and bravery. They will continue to be a pillar of the throne, and a bulwark to the country and its free institutions.

"We shall be happy to reward merit, without any distinction of birth or station.

"People of Austria! it is an awful time in which we mount the throne of our fathers. Great are the duties of our office, great is its responsibility. May God protect us!

"FRANCIS JOSEPH.
"SCHWARTZENBERG.

"*Olmütz, December* 5, 1848."

Time has not yet revealed the secret history of the court revolution, by which Ferdinand was dethroned, and his nephew put in his place. Was the abdication voluntary or not? Did the emperor, weak in mind and body, harassed by the violent commotions that shook his throne to its foundations, throw down a sceptre too heavy for his arm? Or was he removed because his courtiers and his family found, in his religous scruples, an obstacle to the accomplishment of designs opposed to the oath which he had sworn to his people? By whatever means the change was effected, one thing was gained by it—the new emperor had never sworn fidelity to the contract made by the house of Habsburg with the people of Hungary, and therefore had no oath to break. The proclamation which announced this important event to the Hungarian nation, was answered by a declaration of its Diet—that no change could take place on the throne of Hungary without the consent of the Diet, as long as the

former king lived ; and that no king could be recognised, according to ancient law, until he had been crowned, after having first taken the oath to the constitution.

The correctness of the constitutional law thus laid down had been fully tested and confirmed sixty years before. When the native dynasty of Hungary became extinct, in the year 1527, she, of her own free will, elected her king from the house of Habsburg, upon the condition that he should govern according to ancient law, maintain inviolable the nationality of the people, preserve the independence of the country, its liberties, and its constitution, and not absorb the nation into the common mass of his imperial dominions. Hungary was in fact to be to Austria as to laws, what Hanover was to Great Britain. In 1687, the throne, which had previously been elective, was declared hereditary in the reigning family, but on the condition that, before being crowned, each prince should take the oath to defend the constitution, and to maintain the nationality inviolate. How literally this was understood by both parties to the contract appears from the fact, that Joseph II. had purposely abstained from solemnising his coronation as king of Hungary, in order that he might violate the constitution ; and that all his acts were in consequence abrogated and declared null (in 1790) by the succeeding king, Leopold II., who thereupon made a peculiarly distinct avowal (Art. 10), that "Hungary with her appanages is a free kingdom, and in regard to her whole legal form of government (including all the tribunals), independent ; that is, entangled with no other kingdom or people, but having her own peculiar consistence and constitution ; accordingly, to be governed by her legitimately crowned king, after her peculiar laws and customs."

The late king, Ferdinand V., after swearing the oath that his forefathers had dared to break—but never with impunity —received with all solemnity the separate crown of Hungary, in the Dóm of St. Martin, at Presburg. So important was the ceremony of the Hungarian coronation considered, that on his marriage six years afterwards, he brought his queen to Presburg to be crowned with the same solemnity queen of Hungary. His declaration of title, the coins of the realm, every communication to foreign courts, every patent, and

every decree, while it declared Ferdinand to be emperor of Austria, declared him also to be only king of Hungary, and affirmed Hungary to be a kingdom."

But such considerations as these were totally disregarded by the imperial family, which now deemed itself strong enough to achieve the conquest of Hungary, absorb it into the empire, and accomplish, in the extinction of its liberties, an object which their house had vainly pursued for three hundred years.

CHAPTER X.

Second Invasion of Hungary.

VIENNA having been subdued, it was expected that the campaign against Hungary would be opened in a few days; but it was not until the 15th of December, that Prince Windischgrätz began his march. Even that long delay had scantily enabled the Hungarians to offer a show of resistance to the forces which, entering their territory from nine points simultaneously, were about to inclose it within a ring-fence of bayonets and cannon. The invasion was planned on the principle of those great sporting *battues*, in which every head of game in a large district is driven on before a continually narrowing circle of hunters. The imperial main army marched eastward from Austria in three divisions, respectively commanded by Jellachich, Simonich, and Serbelloni. From the Galician frontier, General Schlick directed his march due south towards the heart of the kingdom. Nearly opposite him was the force advancing under Dahlen from the Illyrian provinces; while Puchner, Urban, and Wardener, who had already put down the insurrection in Transylvania, were pressing upon the eastern frontier.

"The forces which the Hungarians had at this time," says Klapka,† "were as nothing compared with the masses of our enemies. We had some garrisons in fortresses. Görgei and Perczel had 30,000 men on the Upper Danube. In Upper Hungary they had an ill-trained corps of 8,000 men; and in Transylvania they could not even dispose of 6,000 troops.

* Edinburgh Review, cxcvii. † Klapka, War in Hungary.

The most efficient force was still in the Bats country, and in the Banat, where they fought against the Raizin (or Servians). These troops, including the blockading corps round Arad, numbered 20,000 men." Of the whole Hungarian force, not more than 35,000 men were regularly armed, and only 10,000 were disciplined soldiers. The rest consisted of militia (honveds), or of raw recruits, waiting for muskets, or armed with pikes and scythes. There was a great lack of arms and ammunition, and manufactories for the supply of such things hardly existed, for the imperial government had always discouraged their establishment in Hungary. But these deficiencies were supplied by the extraordinary exertions of Kossuth, who was now President of the Committee of Defence, which had been established after the resignation of the ministry. Foundries, powder-mills, saltpetre-manufactories, &c., were established at various points ; sulphur, for making gunpowder, was extracted at great cost from copper ore ; and for metal, recourse was had to the church bells.

Under the extraordinary expenses of the government, money soon failed in the treasury ; but this deficiency was effectually met by the issue of paper, chargeable upon the national domains. These government notes, being based on valid security, circulated freely at par in preference to the depreciated paper-money of Austria.

The success of the Imperialists in the beginning of the campaign was rapid and universal. Oedenburg was taken on the first day, Tyrnau on the second, and Presburg on the third. Görgei, who commanded the Hungarian army on the frontiers of Austria, unable to resist the force opposed to him, contented himself rather with obstructing its progress by petty engagements, whilst effecting a general retreat to Raab. There he hoped to maintain his ground behind the three rivers and his strong intrenchments ; but the elements decided otherwise. The weather had been unusually mild in the early part of the winter, but on the 20th of December, it suddenly became intensely cold. The Austrian troops crossed the frozen waters of the Little Danube, and Görgei, compelled to retreat, abandoned to them the formidable intrenchments at Raab. Before he could form a junction with Perczel's corps, the latter was routed at Mör by Jellachich, with the loss, by death or dispersion, of all but

2,000 of his men; and nothing remained for Görgei but to retire beyond the Danube, which he crossed at Pesth on the 3rd of January, 1849. On the same day, Kossuth and the government left Pesth for the fortress of Debreczin, taking with them all the public funds, and the ancient and venerated crown of St. Stephen; and two days afterwards, Prince Windischgrätz entered the Hungarian capital without striking a blow.

In the southern districts, the imperial arms had been equally successful; the troops which had entered from the north and west were free to move towards the centre; in less than three weeks, four-fifths of the whole country had been reduced to subjection, and the imperial supremacy so far re-established, as to leave little apparent probability that the Hungarians would ever again be able to resume the offensive. But these advantages were all frittered away by Prince Windischgrätz, who loitered for nearly two months at Pesth, engaged in the useless task of reorganizing the administration throughout the conquered districts, whilst he suffered to pass unimproved the only season of the year in which his artillery could be made available, and allowed his opponents time to recover from their consternation, gather recruits, and discipline their forces.

Görgei had proposed, even before the invasion of the Austrian army, to transfer the seat of government and the military depôts beyond the left bank of the Theiss, to the great plain bounded by that river, the Maros, and the mountains of Transylvania. The two rivers run a very rapid and irregular course between low banks, bordered by marshes of great extent; so that all the year round, but principally in spring and autumn, the transit of an army and its train is a matter of the greatest difficulty. The mountains of Transylvania protect the eastern side of this plain, and offer but few passes practicable for troops. This protected position, moreover, includes the most fertile part of the country, one peculiarly rich in grain, cattle, and especially horses; so that it affords all the requisites necessary for forming and victualling an army, and for recruiting and mounting cavalry. Here then it was that Görgei desired to have the whole national force of Hungary concentrated, until the army should be reorganized; but Kossuth objected, chiefly because

he apprehended that the nation would be too much discouraged, if the government retreated before the enemy had crossed the frontier; and it was with him a consideration of the first importance to keep alive that popular enthusiasm, on which he mainly relied for the salvation of the country. Görgei, on the other hand, looked with profound scorn on the vapouring enthusiasm of untrained multitudes and disorderly volunteers, and insisted that there was no safety for Hungary, except through the efforts of a well-disciplined regular army, such as it was impracticable to form on the frontier. Out of this primary difference of views, there grew up by degrees that personal antipathy of the military for the civil leader, which was fatal to them both and to their country.

The event proved the correctness of Görgei's views as to the opening of the campaign; for the muster on the frontiers was worse than useless, serving only to enhance the easy triumph of the Austrian main army to such a degree, that the Hungarians were panic-stricken, and the Diet and government so humbled, as to send a deputation to Prince Windischgrätz, in the desperate hope of making terms with him. These overtures had no other result than the imprisonment and subsequent execution of Count Louis Bathyany, the ex-minister, who headed the deputation. The government thereupon departed instantly for Debreczin, in a manner more resembling a flight than a well-arranged removal; but it left behind it an order for Görgei to risk a decisive battle before the capital, coupled with two incompatible provisoes, namely, that he should keep in view the means of securing the retreat of the army to the left bank of the Danube, and likewise, by all means, the preservation of the capital. Now the only way by which the army could pass the Danube was by the chain-bridge between Buda and Pesth, which was barely practicable; and its retreat that way, after a lost battle, would expose it to utter destruction, if neither the suburbs of Buda nor the town itself were to be occupied and defended, lest they should incur the dangers of a hostile attack. Upon these considerations, a council of war, summoned by General Vetter, countermanded the battle, and ordered Görgei to march up the left bank of the Danube, in order to divert the Austrian main army from

the shortest line of operation against Debreczin. Thus was the prestige of authority impaired; the army was left to arrange its own course; and having felt the want of energy in the civil rulers, it began to act independently. Hence ensued subsequent catastrophes.

The first act showed what was to be expected. On arriving at Waitzen, Görgei issued a proclamation in the name of his army, declaring that it fought for nothing else than the laws of 1848, and the legitimate king, Ferdinand V., and that its mission was to defend the constitution both against the public enemy without and republican movements at home. This went the whole length of pronouncing the precise conditions on which the army would obey; it was a renunciation of implicit obedience to the civil power.

Advancing by forced marches from Waitzen, in the direction of Kremnitz and Schemnitz, Görgei was overtaken on the 21st, on the plateau before the latter place, by the Austrians under Czoric, and suffered a severe check. Nevertheless, his operations at this period deserve to rank with the most remarkable known in the history of war. In the depth of a severe winter, he led his troops and artillery over the rugged Carpathians; one while appearing on the frontiers of Galicia, at another, escaping to the mountain towns and villages. His situation soon became extremely critical, pressed as he was on all sides; and making his winter marches and countermarches over fields and mountains of ice and snow, he found himself in his native country of Zips, suddenly shut in on three sides; while Hammerstein, in Galicia, was marshalling all the disposable troops to the frontier to oppose his fourth and last exit.

Guyon, at the head of Görgei's northern column, succeeded in carrying off all the gold and silver stores of the government from the mining districts, and the gunpowder from Neusohl. He reached the country of Zips without serious difficulty. The Austrians surprised him at Neudorf on the night of the 2nd of February; but after a bloody struggle in the streets, the Hungarians were victorious, and dispersed the enemy. Guyon then advanced to the country of Saros, where he found himself opposed by one of Schlick's divisions, which occupied the steep heights

and defiles of the Branyiszko. This rugged pass, which, from its elevation, was deemed impregnable, was the only road from Leutschau to Kaschau, and the sole outlet for Görgei and his troops, by which their junction with the army of the Theiss could be effected. Attacking it from the valley below, and encountering a terrible battery at every turn of the mountain road, Guyon was obliged to sacrifice one-fourth of his heroic troops before all the defiles were carried.

Guyon ordered four of his battalions to lay down their arms; and for five whole hours, from eight o'clock in the evening till one o'clock in the morning, they climbed up steep footpaths, known only to the natives of the country, carrying the ammunition and the dismantled cannon piecemeal on their shoulders, or dragging them up by ropes. The rest of the troops, at the entrance, were continually making feigned attacks, to divert the attention of the Austrians, and prevent the silence of the night from betraying the movement of those engaged in the ascent. At last a gun from the heights gave the signal for a general attack. Ten successive times did the troops stationed below advance to the assault. The Austrians abandoned one intrenchment after another, fighting as they retreated, till the last was captured, and they fled in the utmost confusion through the opposite outlet of the pass, losing a third part of their numbers and a great portion of their artillery. Next morning Görgei's vanguard passed through the defile. On the 6th of February he reached Eperies, and re-established his communications, interrupted for four weeks, with the army of the Theiss and the government at Debreczin.

Meanwhile Prince Windischgrätz had begun to despatch his forces towards the Theiss. The railroad was reopened to Szolnok, and that important point was occupied by Ottinger's brigade, which was there attacked on the 23rd of January, and, owing to the negligence of their commander, suffered one of the most signal defeats that occurred during the whole war. The Hungarians under Perczel and Damjanic, crossing the frozen river, surrounded Ottinger's vanguard, that held the bridge over the Theiss. Those wild riders the *czikos* (Hungarian horseherds), contributed greatly to the success of this surprise. They were close at hand before

Szolnok when the trumpet of the Austrian cuirassiers sounded to horse; the officers barely saved themselves by flight, most of them riding away without saddles, and the common soldiers were cut down in the stables, before they could mount; 1,800 were made prisoners, and the remainder escaped to Czegled. It was no battle, but the loss to the Austrians was greater than that of many a regular engagement, with cannons firing from morning to night. Subsequently, General Ottinger, reinforced by Prince Windischgrätz, advanced again upon Szolnok; but the Hungarians, instead of giving battle as was expected, retreated across the Theiss.

After the Hungarians under Meszaros had been defeated by Schlick on the heights of Pareza, the former was superseded in his command by Klapka, who made a successful stand at Tokay, Tarczal, and Bodroy Keresztur. Schlick attacked those positions severally on the 22nd, 23rd, and 31st of January, and was repulsed on each occasion. The Austrians were not only prevented from advancing on Debreczin, but were driven back upon Kaschau and Eperies. Schlick, who had considered Görgei as buried alive, drew his sabre in a fury when a major, on the 6th of February, brought him news to Eperies of the defeat at Branyiszko. "Dogs that ye are—all of you dogs!" he exclaimed; "that pass I would have held against a hundred thousand men!" He instantly decamped from Eperies, to escape Görgei's superior forces, and took the route to Kaschau. There he learned that Klapka, who had lost sight of him since the battle of the 31st, was advancing upon him, and he was now fixed in the same position as Görgei had been the very evening before. But Schlick was as familiar with the northern counties of Hungary as his enemy, and by masterly manœuvres he succeeded in escaping by Raszo, Rosenau, and Rima Szombat to Losoncz, and subsequently effected a junction with the main Austrian army. Of the army which he led from Galicia, not one-fourth returned; and yet he might boldly claim the gratitude of the emperor. No other of the Austrian generals would have saved a single horse's shoe, nor probably his own person, from the hands of the Hungarians amid the defiles of the Carpathians.*

* Schlessinger's War in Hungary.

During the operations on the Theiss, Perczel's inability to command became so manifest that he was superseded, and General Dembinski, a Pole, was early in February invested with the command in chief of all the Hungarian armies, except that under Bem in Transylvania. This was in every way an unlucky appointment, and especially so as it was made at the moment when the Hungarian forces assembled behind the Theiss were ready to assume the offensive. Dembinski had highly distinguished himself in the Polish campaign of 1831; but his conduct in Hungary by no means corresponded to his former reputation. Kossuth, who had not forgotten Görgei's proclamation from Waitzen, was glad to secure a commander-in-chief who would hold the other generals in hand, and who, as a foreigner, would have no motive for joining an opposition party. He thought, too, that the military renown of the Polish general would excite the confidence of the army; but, in thus calculating, he forgot the Hungarian character, forgot what he above all men should have remembered, that a nationality so jealous as that of the Hungarian, would not long tolerate the idea that its army needed a foreign commander.

On the 24th of February, Windischgrätz left Buda for the seat of war, and on the 26th and 27th a general engagement took place at Kapolna and its vicinity. There was hard fighting, with severe and probably equal loss on both sides. The Austrians were victorious, but neutralised the effect of their victory by abstaining from pursuit of the enemy. The Hungarians retired beyond Maklar, near which a severe and extensive cavalry engagement took place on the 28th, when the Austrians were compelled to retreat with the loss of their guns; but notwithstanding this success, Dembinski continued his retrograde movement.

On the 2nd of March, the Hungarians, pursued by the Austrians, crossed the Theiss at Tisza-Füred. On the 3rd, a council of war was held under the presidency of Görgei, in which the assembled officers expressed their want of confidence in Dembinski, and required the commissary of the government, Szemere, to appoint another commander *ad interim*. Szemere complied, and nominated Görgei. Dembinski refused to relinquish the command, and was put under arrest by Görgei. At this conjuncture Kossuth arrived,

with Moszaros, the minister of war, and General Vetter, the former commander of the army of the south. An investigation was held, which resulted in Dembinski's removal and the nomination of Vetter as commander-in-chief. Thus the ill-advised act of appointing Dembinski to lead the national forces, had given occasion for another deadly blow to be struck at the civil authority. The army had rejected the commander whom the government had set over them. His removal was necessary; and how could the government punish the movers in this opposition after it had acknowledged they were right? This independent conduct of the army therefore remained unpunished; the authority of the government fell; and when Vetter was disabled by illness, the government could no longer resist the wish of the army, and was obliged to appoint as commander-in-chief that general who was most formidable to its power, and who had shown the greatest unwillingness to submit to its authority.

The following were the positions of the Austrian army at this time. Tokay was occupied by the brigade under Götz; Miskolz by Jablonovsky; Schlick's corp was round Erlau, and extended thence to Szolnok; the first army corps under Jellachich, was at Czegled, and the second, under Windischgrätz, was between Buda and Hatvan. On the part of the Hungarians, it was now resolved to resume the offensive, which had for a time, under Dembinski's management, been changed for the defensive.

On the 8th of March Görgei recrossed the Theiss, Vetter marched on Szolnok, and Aulick remained in Tirza-Füred. Strange to say, the Austrians had taken no steps to secure Szolnok, a place of great importance from its position on the Theiss. It was surprised by Damjanic and Vecsey, and the Austrians stationed there were partly dispersed and partly driven into the Zagyva, a confluent of the Theiss, with a loss of 500 prisoners, most of their cannon, military waggons, &c. This surprise was the beginning of a brilliant series of victories, by which the Austrians were rapidly forced to vacate the capital, and many of the upper districts of the country. At the same time Görgei, who, in consequence of Vetter's illness, had now the chief command, coming up with the enemy at Erlau, drove him back upon Gyöngös. There the imperial rearguard attempted to check the pursuing

Hungarians, and cover the retreat of the main body ; but were repulsed at the first attack, and sixteen pieces of artillery, two standards, twenty-one waggons of ammunition, and 1,400 prisoners fell into the hands of the Hungarians. The pursuit was continued along the road to Pesth, and after a running fight of six hours, the Austrians were driven beyond Hatvan. At Gödöllö, the last tenable post on that side of Pesth, the Austrians secured themselves from further pursuit by destroying the bridge ; and they took up a line of defence, which, after some changes, ultimately extended from Gödöllö to Tapiobicze.

On the 4th of April, Vetter's corps, now led by Klapka, came up with the Austrian right wing at Tapiobicze, commanded by Jellachich. Misinformed by his scouts as to the enemy's strength, Klapka incautiously ordered his whole army across the only bridge over the Tapio into the midst of an ambush prepared for them by Jellachich's entire corps. Klapka's Hungarians were panic-stricken, and Damjanic's opportune arrival alone saved them from a most disastrous defeat. In half an hour the Austrians saw all their advantages wrested from them, and were forced to retire from the village. By this victory the Hungarians had achieved the first step toward the grand strategical operation of flanking Gödöllö. Next day they came up with Jellachich's force, concentrated near Isaszeg, whose heights, covered by the intervening forests, and defended by batteries of 120 guns, were considered inexpugnable. Again was Jellachich defeated and the position seized. The battle for it had been a sharp one, and cost both sides a loss of several thousand in killed and wounded.

On the morning of the 6th, the Hungarian right wing, under Görgei, encountered the Austrians at Gödöllö, and took from them 3,200 prisoners, twenty-six cannons, seven standards, and thirty-eight waggons of ammunition. The battle of Gödöllö is mentioned in the Austrian bulletins as one of Prince Windischgrätz's "splendid successes." Its immediate result was the expeditious arrival of the imperial army on the plain of Rakos, in front of Pesth ; its retreat over the Danube, and the prince's recall from the scene of his defeat. With his return to Pesth his mission terminated, and he was invited by an imperial note to Olmütz.

Whilst the Hungarian arms were thus victorious in the centre of the kingdom, fortune favoured them also in Transylvania, where Bem's feeble force had before been unable to withstand Puchner's 15,000 disciplined Austrians.

The Saxons and Wallachs, who form the bulk of the population in Transylvania, were from the first hostile to the Magyars, whose cause was espoused by the other section of the inhabitants, the Szeklers, a wild and warlike race, who placed themselves under the command of Bem. This force Bem soon organized and disciplined; and being reinforced by some troops that had evacuated the fortress of Arad, he was in a few weeks in a condition to resume the offensive at the head of 20,000 men. Falling first on General Gideon, who was at Bistritz with 6,000 Austrians and Wallachs, he drove him into Bukowina, and cut him off entirely from the main body of the army. Thereupon General Puchner, who was then in the Saxon district, applied for aid to General Lüders, the commander of the Russian army in Wallachia, who sent 6,000 men to Hermanstadt, and 4,000 to Kronstadt. But Bem soon swept Russians and Austrians alike out of Transylvania.

After sustaining a severe defeat at Deva, Puchner retreated to Hermanstadt, but left it soon after for Maros-Vasarhely, on hearing a false report of an insurrection. Bem immediately marched against the Russian force at Hermanstadt, defeated an Austrian corps on his way, beat the Russians, and made himself master of Hermanstadt. Puchner returned thither only to see his forces seized with a panic, under the influence of which their members dwindled down in a few hours from 8,000 to 2,000. Bem next entered Kronstadt without firing a shot; and with the exception of the garrison of Klausenberg, and a few thousand Wallach partisans in the mountains, he was undisputed master of Transylvania.

On the 8th of April, two days after the battle of Gödöllö, the Hungarian forces divided, one portion of them being led off by Görgei to the relief of Komorn, and the other remaining under Dembinski to keep watch upon Pesth. On the 9th, Görgei carried Waitzen by storm, defeating 12,000 Austrians under Generals Czoric and Götz, the latter of whom was killed in the fight. He then pursued his march towards

Komorn, and was suffered to throw a temporary bridge over the rapid and swollen Gran, and to cross that stream without obstruction on the 18th. On the following day he was met by the Austrians under Wohlgemuth, in the neighbourhood of Nagy Sarlo. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, and both being commanded by able generals, the battle, which began at early morning, was hotly contested, and was not decided until the evening, when the Austrians retreated, abandoning their camp to the victorious Hungarians, who pursued their march without more interruption to Komorn.

The new Austrian commander-in-chief, Field-Marshal Lieutenant Welden, had meanwhile arrived at the seat of war. Erroneously supposing that the main efforts of the Hungarians would be directed against Pesth, his first measures were devoted to the defence of that city. But finding his mistake, and that the Hungarians had moved higher up the Danube, so as to threaten his communications with Vienna, he evacuated Pesth, and ordered Warbna and Schlick to follow them, prevent the relief of Komorn, and keep the road open to Vienna. But this attempt was made too late; for already, on the 20th of April, Görgei had reached Komorn, repulsed that portion of the besiegers who were on the left bank of the Danube, and thrown reinforcements of men and provisions into the fortress. After this it only remained for him to clear the right bank of the Danube, where was placed the main body of the Austrians, now reinforced by the troops from Pesth, headed by the commander-in-chief. Throwing a bridge over the river, Görgei stormed the Austrian intrenchments, and defeated Welden near New Szöny, in a battle which decided the fate of the campaign. Next day the retreating Austrians were overtaken at Raab, where, having again suffered severely, they were driven over the frontier into Austria. About the same time the Hungarians took Tyrnau; Temesvar surrendered to Bem, and the whole of the Banat, the granary of Hungary, submitted to his authority. In short, Hungarian power was in the ascendant everywhere except in Buda, where the Austrians had left a garrison of six thousand men.

After this splendid series of successes, nothing but the judicial blindness, or the perversity of their civil and military

leaders, could have hindered the Hungarians from marching to Vienna, and dictating such a peace as would for ever have secured the liberties for which they fought. But the fateful opportunity was neglected by Görgei, whilst Kossuth misused it for launching at the house of Habsburg, the blank thunder of a decree of dethronement.

After the battle of Kapolna, Prince Windischgrätz had despatched a bulletin to Vienna, in which, as usual, he greatly exaggerated the importance of his victory, and stated that the last Hungarian army had been beaten, and that the war was nearly at an end. On receipt of that intelligence, the emperor abruptly dissolved the Diet of Kremsier as incompetent to the task of framing a constitution; and he bestowed on the empire, on the 4th of March, 1849, a charter drawn up by his minister, Count Stadion, which proclaimed the unity and indivisibility of the empire, the existence of separate, but of course powerless provincial diets, and the establishment of one central chamber at Vienna, by which the affairs of the empire were to be regulated. In fact, it was a decree which annulled, by a stroke of Count Stadion's pen, the ancient constitution of Hungary, extinguished its nationality, and reduced the kingdom to the condition of a mere province of Austria. All the other provisions of this mock constitution were merely illusory. Under the form of a boon to the whole empire, it was simply intended as an act of aggression upon the rights of Hungary, as is manifest from the fact that, when no longer needed for that purpose, it was wholly abrogated by an imperial decree of the 1st of January, 1852, and every semblance of liberty was destroyed that had thinly veiled the autocracy of Francis Joseph.

It was in answer to this arbitrary act of the 4th of March, that Kossuth proposed and carried in the Diet a measure which entirely changed the character of the war, and contributed more than the combined arms of Austria and Russia to the ruin of his country. After three days' discussion with closed doors, and one in open session, the Diet, on the 14th of April, 1849, issued a proclamation embodying four resolutions, of which the second and fourth were as follows:—

"The house of Habsburg Lorraine, having by treachery, perjury, and levying of war against the Hungarian nation, as well as by its outrageous violation of all compacts in

breaking up the integral territory of the kingdom in the separation of Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, Fiume and its districts from Hungary ; farther, by compassing the destruction of the independence of the country by arms and by calling in the disciplined army of a foreign power for the purpose of annihilating its nationality, by violation both of the Pragmatic Sanction and of treaties concluded between Austria and Hungary, on which the alliance between the two countries depended ; are, as treacherous and perjured, for ever excluded from the throne of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and all their possessions and dependencies, and are hereby deprived of the style and title, as well as of the armorial bearings belonging to the crown of Hungary, and declared to be banished for ever from the united countries, and their dependencies and possessions. They are therefore declared to be deposed, degraded, and banished for ever from the Hungarian territory.

" The form of government to be adopted for the future will be fixed by the Diet of the nation.

" But until this point shall be decided on the basis of the foregoing and received principles, which have been recognised for ages, the government of the united countries, their possessions and dependencies, shall be conducted on personal responsibility, and under the obligation to render an account of all acts, by Louis Kossuth, who has by acclamation, and with unanimous approbation of the Diet of the nation, been named governing president (*Gubernator*), and the ministers whom he shall appoint."

It is hardly worth while to discuss the abstract justice of a measure so indefensible on the ground of policy. Aptly has it been remarked,* that, if dethronement was the just reward of the house of Habsburg for outraging the Hungarian constitution, this step should have been taken at the commencement of the war, and thus the nation would have known from the first for what it was fighting. Therefore, if judged by the mere justice of the case, the declaration came too late, and if viewed in the light of expediency, too early ; for it was a crowning provocation offered to the house of Habsburg. There was no medium now between sepa-

* Edinburgh Review.

ration and subjugation. It was easy to foresee that Austria would accept the offers of her mighty ally, Russia, rather than descend from her position as a first-rate power in Europe, which would have been the inevitable consequence of the loss of Hungary. Russia had abundant reason to seize the first opportunity to humble her rival, and to crush at the same time that dangerous movement in Hungary, which served as an example for the Poles. Moreover, Russia had nothing to apprehend from any other foreign intervention, as the popular party was everywhere subdued, and there was no reason to anticipate that England or America would interfere in favour of the dethronement, since, having no diplomatic relations with Hungary, and at that time, like the rest of the world, being very ignorant of the merits of the case, they were not in the position to take the question in hand.

A division in the army was another evil likely to follow the declaration of independence. Many of the officers in Görgei's army had been in the Austrian service. They fought in obedience to the oath they had sworn to the constitution, but were by no means disposed to partake in a war against the dynasty of Austria. The measure carried with it not one advantage. It had no inspiring effect on the nation. It did not enlarge the means of defence; on the contrary, it diminished them. It increased the number and hostility of the enemies of Hungary, and there is no evidence that it gained one additional friend to the cause. Nationality and liberty were intelligible and eminently practical objects of the nation's desire, and so long as it contended for them it was victorious; but when theories were set before it, when a negative idea, the dethronement of the royal house, was held up as the reward of its exertions, from that moment the national movement began to decline, and the cause was lost.

Having brought the conflict with Austria to an issue which precluded all possibility of compromise, the Hungarian government was bound in common prudence to follow up its advantages with redoubled ardour, and give no respite to its routed foes. After the victories of April, when the Austrian troops were flying and disorganized, and but two days' march intervened between Görgei and Vienna, there

remained no force in the Austrian empire, except the army of Radetzki in Italy, which could have offered him any serious resistance. The capital and the empire were at his mercy. Had he marched with the bulk of his force upon Vienna, as he was ordered, he might there have dictated his own terms, and for ever rendered harmless all threats of Russian intervention. Instead of doing so, he sent only a few thousand men in pursuit of the enemy, and marched with the greatest part of his troops to besiege Buda, where the Austrians had left a garrison merely as a bait to lure the Hungarians from the proper object of their operations. Isolated in the heart of a hostile country, the garrison of Buda was incapable of doing mischief, and might without detriment have been suffered to remain until a more convenient season. After a three weeks' siege the fortress was taken by a brilliant assault. Austria had saved her capital at the expense of a most intrepid garrison; and in the mean time her forces were reorganised, and a Russian army had assembled on the frontier.

Thus was lost through Görgei's disobedience, the decisive moment on which hung the destinies of his country; and for that disobedience a pretext and an opportunity had been furnished by Kossuth. The president had accompanied the army in its march from the Theiss to Gödöllö; and he quitted it before its work was finished, to go to Debreczin and urge upon the Diet his proposal for the deposition of the imperial family. He gave up the substance for the shadow.

CHAPTER XI.

Third Invasion of Hungary. 1849.

It was not until the middle of June that hostilities were resumed. After his splendid but fatal achievement at Buda, Görgei still loitered inactively on the Waag during the long pause that ensued before the Austrians and Russians had concentrated their forces. The army of the former had received a new commander, Field-Marshal Lieutenant Haynau, already notorious for his savage deeds at Brescia,

and destined to deeper infamy for those he was about to perpetrate in Hungary. The invaders mustered together nearly 400,000 men—230,000 Austrians, and 160,000 Russians—and were distributed as follows:—

The first army corps (Austro-Russian), under Haynau, entering Hungary at Presburg, advanced in the direction of the capital, Buda Pesth.

The second (Russian), under Prince Paskievitch, crossing the Gallician frontier at Dukla, marched upon Debreczin.

The third (Austro-Russian), under Puchner, entering Transylvania from the north, stormed Bistricz and moved upon Klausenburg.

The fourth (Russian), under Lüden, entering Transylvania from the south, through the Tömös pass, took Kronstadt and marched upon Hermanstadt.

The fifth (Russian), entering at Orsova, advanced to join Jellachich and his Austro-Croatian army, operating in the territory between the Danube and the Theiss.

According to Kossuth's statement, the Hungarian forces at this time amounted to 140,000 men, of whom 45,000 formed Görgei's corps; there were 30,000 in the Banat, and 40,000 under Bem in Transylvania. Kossuth's plan of defence was to concentrate all the armies either on the Upper Danube or within the Theiss, so as to act from a central position on the isolated bodies of the enemy. Had Kossuth been a general, or had Görgei obeyed him, this plan might have been successful. At least it might have been possible to protract the campaign until September, when the periodical fevers would have rendered the interior of the country untenable for the invaders. But no system of defence could have saved a country foredoomed by the disunion among its leaders. The generals were all jealous of each other, and of the civil governor. As for Görgei, he hated Kossuth with a rancour which he seeks to justify in his memoirs on public grounds, but in which there evidently mingled a large share of personal envy. Kossuth was aware of this; he knew that the safety of the state required Görgei's removal from his command; but instead of bringing the disobedient general to a court-martial, he temporised from mistaken notions of policy, and affected towards him a confidence he did not feel. Görgei did more than this; in

his relations with the government he descended to direct treachery, like those Austrians officers who accepted the commissions of the Hungarian ministry, intending to betray it. In his address to the army, dated Komorn, 29th of April, 1849, Görgei openly approved the declaration of independence at the very moment when, as he himself tells us, he purposed to compel the Diet by force of arms to revoke that act.

Görgei began offensive operations by pushing forward, across the Waag and the Neuhausler Danube, some small corps, which were repulsed in several engagements from the 16th to the 20th of June. On the latter day he took the command in person at Szered, where he defeated the Austrians; but on the coming up of the Russian reserve he was compelled to fall back on Komorn, whence with sarcastic complacency he gave notice to the government at Pesth that it must speedily leave the capital, as he was unable to cover it. On the 27th the allies carried Raab, the garrison retreating with little loss to Komorn, where the Hungarians were attacked in their entrenchments by Haynau on the 2nd of July, but without success. Görgei behaved that day with the temerity of one who courted death. He was wounded in the head by a sabre cut, but the balls seemed to avoid the general whilst they decimated those around him. On the evening after this successful stand against the enemy, despatches arrived from the Hungarian government, ordering that Görgei should be removed from the chief command, because he had refused, at the frequent and pressing instances of the government, to march with his troops to Pesth, but had persisted in remaining uselessly about Komorn, while the capital was abandoned to the enemy. Unfortunately for the Hungarian cause, Görgei's heroic conduct on that day had so confirmed the confidence reposed in him by his officers, that it was unanimously resolved in a council of war that he alone should lead them. The government was obliged to acquiesce, and thenceforth Görgei acted independently of all control.

His only course now was to unite his forces with the armies on the central plain of Hungary, and act thence on the various invading bodies marching in from the circumference. He waited, however, until it was too late, and

failed in a grand attempt to break through the Austrian lines on the south. The only other outlet was through the Russian forces on the east. By some masterly manœuvres, and after a sanguinary battle at Waitzen on the 13th of July, he succeeded in turning the Russian lines, and retreating into the Carpathians. "During this battle," says Kossuth, "General Perczel was only a few miles distant, and Görgei neither wrote nor sent."

After this, succeeded one of the most ably conducted retreats on record. With enemies hemming him in on every side, Görgei baffled them, turned their positions, made his retreat a means of attack, and often overwhelmed them with assaults from the quarter whence they least expected them. Twice during this masterly retreat he might have united his force with the Hungaran army on the plain within the Theiss, and have saved Hungary. About the 20th of July, when Görgei was at Putnok, Paskievitch was at Miskolcz, just half way between him and Dembinski, who was at Solnok on the Theiss with the new army of thirty thousand men intrusted to his command. Had the two Hungarian generals acted in concert, they might have annihilated the main Russian army, which was attenuated by its dispersion over a great extent of ground, and disabled by the ravages of the cholera, which was carrying off thousands daily. Again the same thing might have been done when Görgei was at the Hernad, where he commanded the only two passages over the Theiss, those at Tisza Fured and at Tokay. A junction between the two generals at that time would not have failed to prolong the war until the period of the fatal Theiss fevers, which begin in those marshy plains in September, and which no foreigner can withstand. Görgei wilfully neglected both opportunities, and at length crossed the Theiss when it was too late.

Again, when near Debreczin, he refused all aid to the heroic little body under Nagy Shandor, making their desperate stand against the Russians—8,000 men against 80,000. He was well aware of the attack which awaited Nagy Shandor, whom he had detached from his own corps for no other conceivable reason than his hatred of the man he thus exposed to destruction; for Nagy Shandor had openly declared that "if there was a man in Hungary who

aspired to be a Cæsar, he would himself be his Brutus." "To-morrow, Nagy Shandor will get a dressing," was Görgei's remark to his staff on the evening preceding the engagement.

Meanwhile Dembinski, who had been defeated by Haynau at Szöreg, instead of retreating, as he was ordered to do, upon the Hungarian fortress of Arad, which would have afforded him a safe *point d'appui*, and where he must have met Görgei, directed his course to Temesvar, which was still in Austrian hands. There he was overtaken by Haynau and Jellachich, and the last battle of the war was fought on the 9th of August. Bem, who had been overpowered by superior numbers, and forced to evacuate Transylvania, arrived at Temesvar in time to take the chief command, to which he had meantime been appointed. The battle began in the morning, and for some hours the Hungarians had the advantage. The Austro-Russian cavalry, reserves and all, were brought forward to the number of twelve thousand, but were driven back in the utmost disorder by Guyon's seven thousand hussars. Bem continued to advance with his left wing till half-past four o'clock, driving the enemy from position to position. At this time the victory of the Hungarians seemed assured, and Haynau, it is said, had already fled from the field, when suddenly Bem's cannon ceased. He had gone into action without discovering that part of his ammunition had been sent off the preceding night to Arad. Prince Lichtenstein now charged the Hungarian right wing, and retrieved the day. Guyon made a last gallant effort with his hussars to capture the Austro-Russian artillery; but men and horses had been without food and forage for twenty-four hours; the attempt failed, and all was lost. The Hungarian army retreated unpursued, but in passing through a forest at night, they were seized with a panic, and dispersed in all directions. On the following morning not a thousand men could be got together.

The disaster at Temesvar gave Görgei the opportunity he had long sought, to gratify his personal resentments at the cost of his country and of the brave soldiers that had so trusted and loved him. When the news of the defeat reached the government, then sitting at Arad, Görgei was there also, intriguing to obtain the dictatorship, that he

might surrender to the Russians; for with characteristic pride, he had always said he would fight till the last man was killed rather than surrender to the Austrians—the enemy whom he had conquered. To facilitate his design, he had craftily diffused a report that Russia was willing to establish a constitutional monarchy under a Russian prince, and to turn her arms, if necessary, against Austria. Thus he prepared the minds of the other generals to follow his own example without distrust. He now declared that he could yet save Hungary if the government would commit the whole military and civil power into his hands, but that he neither could nor would do so on any other terms. The urgency of the case allowed of no delay. An informal council was held, in which the ministry sent in their resignation to the governor; but three of them, Duschek, Szemere, and Casimir Batthyany were not present at the meeting. Kossuth then signed an abdication in favour of Görgei, and sent it to them for their signature, "accompanying it," says Vucovics, "with certain conditions, as that Görgei must preserve the independence and nationality of Hungary." But the new dictator immediately issued a proclamation, desiring the Hungarians to retire each man to his home, and offer no further resistance to the enemy. At the same time he dismissed the general levy, and sent a letter to General Rudiger, stating that he was ready to lay down his arms unconditionally. "At that moment," says Görgei,* "I might indeed have retreated from Arad by way of Radna into Transylvania; but"—what hindered him?—"my affection for my country, and my desire to restore it to peace at any price, induced me to surrender!" The preliminaries for this act of infamy were concluded at Vilagos on the night of the 12th of August; and on the following day, an unconquered Hungarian army, twenty-four thousand strong, with a hundred and forty-four canons, laid down their arms before the Russians.

The fortresses of Arad and Peterwardein soon afterwards surrendered at discretion; but Klapka still held out in Komorn. Emboldened by two successful sallies made in July, he had assumed the offensive on the 1st of August,

* Letter to Klapka, August 16.

and issuing from the fortress, had routed the besiegers with great slaughter, captured an enormous booty of provisions and ammunition, retaken Raab, and swept that part of the country clear of the imperialist forces. His success excited great alarm in Vienna, which was thus exposed to his assaults, with only eight thousand men to defend it, whilst a victorious army of twenty thousand men held the country in Haynau's rear, cutting off his lines of communication with Austria. After six days spent in Raab in raising recruits, and completing his preparations, Klapka was about to march on the night of the 11th to invade Styria. This was on the very day that Görgei became dictator. But the intended expedition was abandoned in consequence of the alarming intelligence received in the evening from beyond the Theiss, and Klapka returned with his forces to Komorn. The fortress was now invested by the whole Austrian force, and after many debates in council of war, it capitulated on the 29th of September, the stipulations being, that the garrison should be allowed to secure a portion of its pay, and retire unmolested in person or property. These conditions were held towards the officers, but broken as regarded the soldiers, who were forcibly drafted into the imperial army. The capitulation is said to have been brought about by double-dealing. The principal motive which induced the victorious garrison to surrender, was the assurance given them by the Austrian negotiators, that the emperor waited but for that act to show clemency to their captive companions in arms and to their countrymen in general. In corroboration of this assurance, it was alleged that the emperor had sent Count Grünne, his own adjutant-general, to Arad, to stop the execution of the sentences of death which had been passed by the courts-martial sitting in that fortress. But Klapka and his men were not told that this seeming act of grace was only a lure; that the executioner's hands were stayed only until Komorn should have fallen; not a man of them was aware that the only reason Haynau had for urging the capitulation, was his desire to execute the bloody sentences against the doomed patriots with impunity.* Hence they

* Klapka's Letter to Haynau, dated London, Feb. 6, 1850.

consented to claim amnesty only for themselves, and not for the whole country; therein yielding to the assurances of the Austrian negotiators that the latter stipulation was superfluous, and to their representations that the acceptance of such a condition for the surrender of a fortress would be incompatible with the dignity of the emperor.

And now the savage executioner of Brescia began his congenial work of cold-blooded butchery. First came the scourging of Hungarian ladies, forced to run the gauntlet half-naked between two lines of Austrian soldiers, armed with rods. Next occurred the execution of generals and officers. Görgei had obtained his pardon, by desire of the emperor of Russia: but whilst the chief was spared, no mercy was shown to his subordinates. Thirteen generals and field-officers were hanged or shot at Arad on the 6th of October. Ten ministers and civil officers were executed soon afterwards; and it is computed that more than a thousand gentlemen of station and character died by rope or lead in Hungary that year under Austrian hands. The colonels and majors of the Hungarian army were sentenced to imprisonment for eighteen and sixteen years respectively, or to serve as privates in the Austrian ranks; and the landed aristocracy were visited unsparingly with fines and confiscations.

Immediately after Kossuth's resignation, himself and several other civil and military leaders, with about five thousand officers and soldiers, escaped over the Turkish frontier, and took refuge in Widdin. The emperors of Russia and Austria demanded the extradition of the refugees. This was peremptorily refused by the Sultan, whom Sir Stratford Canning, the British ambassador, encouraged by his advice to persist in that determination. The emperor of Russia reiterated the demand in menacing language; but the appearance of a British fleet in the Dardanelles, whether fortuitous or designed, induced him to lower his tone. The two emperors now contented themselves with requiring that the exiles should be removed to a more distant part of the Turkish empire. They were transferred accordingly to Kutayah, where they remained until the middle of the year 1851, when the government of the United States sent a man-of-war, which, with the Sultan's consent, conveyed

away Kossuth and his companions, except a certain number of them who had made a voluntary profession of Islamism.

More than three years have now elapsed since Austria bartered her independence for a renewal of her old system of absolutism and centralization, and acquired the power to extinguish the ancient immunities of Hungary at the cost of her own vassalage to Russia. In all that time she has not made the slightest progress towards the consolidation of her factitious greatness. She subsists only by virtue of a permanent state of siege and martial law. Her subject populations, who rose against her in 1849, are more disaffected than ever, and she has alienated the very races that then took up arms in her defence. Her despotism rests on no saving basis of a common nationality; no inward vitality binds together the heterogeneous elements of her empire; the prestige of her might is gone, the sanctuary of her authority has been profaned, her weakness made manifest, the mechanism of her power laid bare. She maintains her state by terrorism alone, the most precarious of all tenures.

GENESIS

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN AUSTRIA.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THERE are no abrupt transitions in nature. This axiom holds good in the moral as well as in the physical world.

When, therefore, a Constituent Parliament, composed of democratic elements, was observed in Austria, in the month of July, 1848, by the side of the throne (which in the preceding month of March was still absolute), laying claim to the sovereignty, and that, too, before the chasm between those two conditions of government had been bridged over by a popular victory, the question at once suggested itself, how this change could so suddenly have taken place.

It is the task of this work to show that even in this case the unchangeable laws of nature maintained their course, inasmuch as the phenomena of the year 1848 were only the result of long-subsisting causes, which at length became evident to all.

The title of these leaves (Genesis) will indicate that they are not intended to be either a chronicle or a minute detail of the events of the period. They enter on historical ground only when such a course appears necessary to accomplish their design, which is to explain the original causes of the change of circumstances alluded to.

The first motto upon the title-page indicates the intention to maintain a strict impartiality.

The second motto will justify the boldness with which, without regard to the approbation of any party, it has been attempted to discharge the duty resulting from the first.

Should this work succeed in removing from the public mind those prejudiced views which, in a time of political excitement, partisans are accustomed to form concerning both things and individuals, and so correct the errors and injustice which result from such opinions, its object will have been attained.

In order to prevent the reader from being misled by the

name of the author, and from perusing these leaves with a mind prejudiced either in favour of or against the views they maintain, the writer has thought it better to preserve an *incognito*. He is conscious of his honourable determination to observe strict truth in the circumstances he relates. Should he have given admission to any erroneous statements, he will cheerfully adopt their correction, for the sake of truth, and will rejoice at the opportunity for such correction being afforded to him. Wherever he has expressed an opinion, he has obeyed the voice of his own conviction. He is reluctant, however, to force his own opinions upon any one, and therefore he is not disposed to engage in a polemical dispute with those who differ from him.

The topics treated of in this work have been already discussed in other quarters,—for example, by Philipps and Görres in the 21st and 22nd numbers of a *brochure* styled "The Historical and Political Pamphlet for Catholic Germany:" also by F. von B., in a work called "A Review of the Political Commotion in Austria in the Year 1848;" and in several other ephemeral publications in which this last book is criticised. Again, a work by Count Leo Thun, in the Bohemian language, called, "Reflections on the Present State of Things, with particular Relation to Bohemia," is partly occupied with the same subject. The Genesis was already finished when these pamphlets met the eye of the author, and he has not found himself obliged by their contents to alter what he had previously written. Should the reader, therefore, detect in these pages any resemblance with the sentiments of other writers, he must attribute the circumstance, not to plagiarism, but to the irresistible power of truth; and should he, on the other hand, discover any points of difference, he must not consider this work as a polemical essay.

The judgments passed in these pages upon individuals have relation only to their political character as it has been evinced by their public conduct.

The mention of names notorious on the political stage has been found necessary for the object of this work, and has appeared at least as unobjectionable as the affected concealment of the mere name, accompanied, however, by a sketch of the individual through the medium of a transparent descrip-

tion. The names of persons, however, are not mentioned, who have remained secluded from public life, and at a distance from the eye of the world.

In estimating the merits of this work, the reader will bear in mind that it is not a state document; that it is not composed by a man of letters for the perusal of the mere learned, but the work of one unknown to the literary world—a mere quiet observer of the passing events of the age—and has been written for those whose tastes resemble his own, "*absque irâ et studio*," indeed, but nevertheless in a style which, by means of a lively colouring imparted to the narrative, seemed adapted to soften in some measure the sober seriousness of the subject, and dissipate the tedium of the reader.

August, 1849.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

The first edition of the "Genesis" was sold in a few weeks. The voice of the critic had not yet reached the author during the preparation of the second edition. He has become acquainted with it by this time, and thinks it his duty to pay it regard as far as it tends to promote the object of this work, which seeks to enlighten *the judgment of the world on one of the least expected of catastrophes which have ever shattered the foundations of a great state.* All observations on the "Genesis" which have appeared in public journals or in pamphlets, and have illustrated the events of the year 1848, whether proceeding from the pen of friend or of foe, have been welcome to the author.

There are three publications which demand especial notice on occasion of the present edition. The first is the review of "Genesis" in the "Historical Papers for Catholic Germany for 1850," numbers I. and II., by G. Philipps and G. Görres (Historische Blätter f r das Katholische Deutschland). This review bears the marks of having been written by a practised observer, in high position and of great experience in the affairs of the world. The second is a pamphlet of 73 pages, large octavo, published in 1850 by T. N. Passy, at St. Pölten, and by P. Rohrmann, bookseller to the court at Vienna. Its title is, "The Estates of Lower Austria and the Genesis of the Revolution in Austria in 1848." The anonymous author of this pamphlet declares, at page 2, that he has taken up a "*party position, and closely and sincerely sympathizes with the acts of the Estates of Lower Austria.*" That declaration is important, as it renders it possible to complete the description of the events of March, by citing several facts which, in the absence of a guarantee on behalf of the party of the Estates itself, did not previously seem suitable for publication. The third treatise, by L. Count Ficquelmont, entitled, "Illustrations of the Period from the 20th of March to the 4th of May, 1848" (Aufklärungen über die

Zeit vom 20 März bis zum 4 Mai, 1848), was published in 1850 by J. A. Barth, at Leipzic, and by Fr. Beck, bookseller to the University at Vienna. The "Genesis" is not in terms alluded to in this work, though its author, a statesman, in every respect honourable, who furnishes us with elucidations derived from the fountain-head, seems to have been induced by the "Genesis" to make the grant of the constitution of the 25th of April, 1848, the subject of a very careful investigation, which could not be passed over in silence in the present edition.

Voices have been raised here and there which have pronounced the "Genesis" to be a party work, called forth by those who were in authority before March, as a means of vindicating their honour. It would have been especially flattering to the author, if those personages had intrusted to his pen the task of vindicating their honour. However, it is not, and for this simple reason could not be, the fact,—because statesmen, who were unwilling to sacrifice their inward convictions to fashionable theories and to popular favour, might perhaps endanger the shining diadem of glory and the golden wreath of fortune, but never that precious jewel — honour. The author wrote under the impulse of no other motive than the desire of furnishing to future impartial historians intimations from other sources than those from which the swarm of publications of the present day have originated.

The new materials have been added in the shape of notes, as they allow of comparative glances at the present without interrupting the descriptions of the past. Whatever judgment the reader may form from such comparisons, we beg of him to keep in mind, that those who are now occupied with the task of re-erecting the Austrian state edifice are not to be reproached for the troublesome dust occasioned by the removal of the rubbish, and for the comfortless damp and chilliness pervading the new-built halls, which have not been allowed time to dry. Such are the *inevitable* consequences of rebuilding.

GENESIS

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN AUSTRIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE sea roars from the west: the storm impels the billows against the harbour wall: the latter bids them a proud defiance; some few waves with difficulty reach the summit, and appear on the broad parapet which protects the pier, to glide away without a trace. Within the harbour, too, the calm water-level is disturbed by smaller waves, that portend no danger: when suddenly the wall bursts asunder, the tide rushes fiercely in and inundates the shore, scattering destruction wide around.

With astonishment and wonder, the spectator beholds the fragments of the ruined wall which he had deemed imperishable—he marks how the waves, which appeared to flow off from the surface, had gradually formed a channel through the crevices of the outer-works, and as the inner stones were already secretly penetrated and decayed, how they had reached the foundation of the wall, so that its destruction became inevitable.

So it happened with Austria. The revolution raged in the west. The Austrian Government conceived that as she

had once formed the bulwark of European civilization against the encroachments of barbarian Mahometanism, so she might now stand firm as a defence against the propaganda of the revolution. The sincere loyalty of the people to the imperial dynasty, the influence of habit, the sense of comfort arising from the secure administration of the laws, the tender anxiety for the commercial interests which developed themselves more and more every year, these were regarded as the firm foundation of this defence, while the regulations of the police to prevent the circulation of revolutionary doctrines by word or writing furnished a protecting complement to the work; but these measures, though competent, apparently, to suppress hostile manifestations of discontent, could not prevent its gradual increase. Moreover, the very foundation itself had been already shaken by the internal attacks which the government had to sustain from the hand of one, who now showed as much anxiety to divide her authority, as she had exhibited for the same purpose some centuries before—and hence arose the crash on the 13th of March.

The catastrophe of the days of March astonished all parties, both the government and the governed. By the first it was not apprehended, by the latter it was not expected in the way in which it actually occurred. Accordingly, both parties entered wholly unprepared into new reciprocal relations with each other. Errors on the one side and exaggerated demands on the other must have been expected by all reflecting men, as the consequence of such a sudden change, but the event unfortunately exceeded all anticipations.

The inundation which, in the month of March, gave up the otherwise happy territory of Austria a prey to the devastation of the raging waves, was prepared through a long course of previous years, partly by circumstances, and partly by design.

Since the time when Jean Jacques Rousseau first published his theory of a "Social Contract," a party has always existed in every civilised country, opposed to the absolute power of monarchs. In France, in consequence of some peculiarly favourable circumstances, this party first achieved the overthrow of the throne and the altar. Even at that time, it was not without adherents in Austria, but the seed fell upon a soil not yet sufficiently prepared for it. The reforms of the Emperor Joseph, in advance of the spirit of the age, partook of a philosophical, but at the same time of an absolute character, and while they had alleviated the most crying evils of the people, they had also extended the power of the sovereign. The mass of the people, therefore, felt no sympathy for the revolution, while the government was in full possession of all the public and private resources to suppress any attempt at a popular insurrection. It happened, by a dispensation of Providence not unfavourable for the propagation of the principles of the French revolution in the eighteenth century, that at the time when that revolution was in preparation, the sceptres of Prussia and of Austria were wielded by two monarchs who were philosophers, and at the same time despots in the strictest meaning of the word. The ovations which were offered to both these rulers by the national heroes of the new era, could be no more than mere irony, if they did not arise from the most complete thoughtlessness. After the days of March in Vienna, the mad joy of the mob at their success in having obtained for the people the right to carry arms, the freedom of the press, and the restraint of the absolute monarch within the limits of a constitution, induced them to proceed to the equestrian statue of Joseph, in order to place a crown on that emperor's head. Must not every cool and well-informed spectator have asked himself at that moment, what would have been

the answer of that highly-honoured monarch to his joyous worshippers, if his spirit could then but have animated his statue! Would not the ponderous weight of his brazen arm have crushed them in indignation at their achievements?

The unimpaired powers of government bequeathed by Joseph and Frederic to their successors rendered it possible for the latter, at the outbreak of the first French revolution, to resist throughout their own kingdoms the spirit of enthusiasm, which was partially awakened in particular classes of society in favour of "freedom and equality." The course which that revolution took subsequently, destroyed the number of its foreign adherents, since it became evident that its public boastings in favour of the rights of man were mere absurdity, inasmuch as such privileges were only valuable to the adherents of the ruling party for the time being, its opponents finding their freedom in exile, and their equality in being condemned to the guillotine. The bloody war of conquest carried on by the young republic completely alienated from her all hearts in Austria; for when one's own fire-side is threatened, every thought is directed to avert the apprehended danger, and for the moment, the dreams of freedom and equality vanish into air. The people gladly beheld the conversion of the French Republic into an empire, and the thrones of Europe had no farther cause to fear being overturned by their own subjects. But, on the other hand, the thirst for conquest which seized the Emperor of the French, threatened the ruling dynasties with the loss of their crowns. In this extremity they grasped at a means of safety, powerful, no doubt, in its operation, but on whose effects it was impossible to reckon; namely, to awaken the sentiment of independence amongst their people, and array them in opposition to the conqueror of the world. Napoleon fell! After his fall, the spirit whose aid had been invoked, was not allayed.

It turned against the very power by which it had been aroused. The thirty-four years which had elapsed since the banishment of Napoleon to Saint Helena present the picture of a perpetual contest with this spirit. The Governments which have been exposed to this struggle, have pursued different lines of conduct. Some have thought to escape the difficulty, by imposing voluntary restraints on the absolute power of the crown, and by adopting a constitutional form of government, modelled in such a fashion that the power of the sovereign with regard to the framing of laws and the imposition of taxes is controlled by hereditary and elective representative estates, while the other privileges of the government remain untouched, and the maxim of the sovereignty of the people never came under discussion. Others adopted the notion that the authority of government, when divided, and consequently weakened by division, is less capable of defending itself than when it remains strong and undivided, whereupon they allowed no limit to be placed to the authority of the monarch, but endeavoured to maintain this power unimpaired, by every means which stood at their command. The events of the year 1848 have proved that both these plans have failed in their object, since the people ruled by constitutional laws, no less than the people living under a despotic government, have endeavoured to usurp the sovereign authority for themselves.

In Austria and Prussia the last-mentioned course was followed. Its adoption laid the foundation of the so-called "Metternich system." In order to act consistently, the advocates of this system were obliged to oppose all concessions tending to diminish the authority of the monarch, not only at home, but abroad, since, where power is the question, popular coalitions can exist as well as coalitions of princes. It was a herculean task to

struggle against the spirit of the age, which animated the people. Single-handed, no government could accomplish it effectually. As long as the two chief powers of Germany, Austria and Prussia, pursued the same course in union, the authority of government was maintained unimpaired. But as soon as the King of Prussia had determined to share this authority, though only in some trivial particulars, with a popular assembly, it became evident that the downfall of absolutism must soon be the result in both kingdoms; since a principle of such importance, which enters deeply into all the relations of life, and offers homage to the spirit of the age, can never be affirmed in part, and negatived in part, according to the arbitrary fancy of the moment, but must either be rejected wholly or acknowledged wholly, with all its attendant consequences. The utter rejection, therefore, of the principle, involving a division of the sovereign power, which had been half acknowledged by the king of Prussia, was the problem reserved for Austria singly to solve, on the soil of Germany and in the west of Europe. The system of Metternich was applied to the solution of this problem. But its solution was not effected; the system gave way. No sooner did it fail, than every voice was raised in its condemnation. It was pronounced execrable, and to its influence were attributed all those dreadful excesses which took place afterwards in the imperial capital, as if this system had actually engendered the hostile force which it was unable to crush, instead of being in fact a bulwark raised against the very power by which it was eventually vanquished. An objection which might have been urged against it with greater justice, was its untenableness. This was acknowledged, on March 13th, by the man whose name it bore, and who sought to maintain it; and he accordingly gave way before a superior power. A

system of a wholly different nature was introduced, without the necessity of a previous contest with arms. The inevitable course of events was allowed to pursue its way in peace.

That it did not so happen—that six months later fire and sword raged in the heart of Austria, can only be ascribed to a failure of the new system, or to the errors of those who were summoned to execute it.

CHAPTER II.

BEFORE THE MONTH OF MARCH, 1848.

HAVING in a cursory manner described the origin of the general discontent, to which Austria had endeavoured to oppose herself as a barrier, it now becomes our task to explain by what means it happened that the advancing influence of the spirit of the age succeeded in effecting a gradual diminution of that resisting power, which the Austrian Government considered itself to possess. This diminution of power was not the work of a recent period. Its origin is to be found in the peculiarities which existed in the heart of the monarchy for a long series of years, and which were already in full operation at the accession of the Emperor Ferdinand. We must, therefore, in the first place, take a glance at the government of the Emperor Francis.

THE EMPEROR FRANCIS.

The year 1816 was the culminating point of the imperial power, not only in a material, but more particularly in a moral point of view. The peace of Paris had made ample compensation for the losses which the monarchy had sustained since the outbreak of the first French revolution. The Emperor Francis commanded the highest esteem on account of his own personal merits, which had been displayed to the greatest advantage in conferences with many other monarchs and European personages in Paris and Vienna; and

he was honoured as a sage. The love of his people, who had ever remained faithful to him in adversity, was bestowed upon him in increased measure when he suddenly became the favourite of fortune ; and the well-grounded expectations of a happy future excited his subjects even to enthusiasm. The rich countries which had lately become annexed to the monarchy, the enormous sums which France had been condemned to pay, and the certain duration of a long peace, seemed to offer a complete security for the diminution of the state burdens, and for the establishment of content and prosperity. These hopes, however, were not realised in their fullest extent. A disastrous system of finance, founded on a mere delusion—the extinction of the old national debt—increased annually the burden of interest due by the state, without furnishing by way of compensation any new capital to open fresh sources of national wealth ; a bigoted attachment to whatever was established, closed the door against such improvements in the legislative or executive departments as were suitable to the exigencies of the times ; and even when a conviction of the necessity of reforms was acknowledged, they were delayed, or their effect rendered nugatory by numerous doubts, and by endless discussions, as to whether, in place of the alteration proposed, something better might not perhaps be substituted. The task which Austria had undertaken to accomplish, *viz.* to establish a barrier against the movement which a powerful party was directing from the west, in favour of the sovereignty of the people, entailed upon her the necessity of maintaining numerous and burdensome regulations of police, a system much less rigorously exercised even in Prussia, although that country was by no means disposed to renounce her absolute form of government, and far less strictly pursued in other countries, where the authorities had commenced a

course of concession in order to appease the temper of the disaffected: and hence it happened that from the comparisons which were naturally instituted between these respective forms of governments, discontent was engendered in Austria. The different provincial states observed that similar bodies in other districts of Germany enjoyed a larger share in the executive and legislative functions than was conceded to them, and they panted to regain their old privileges. From these causes it happened that in the latter part of the reign of the Emperor Francis an inward feeling of discontent became general, which, though it might not have been loudly expressed, was nevertheless deeply rooted. During his lifetime these sentiments were counterbalanced by the sincere attachment and filial reverence to which his own personal worth had given birth. During a long series of years his subjects had shared with him feelings first of national humiliation, and subsequently of national rejoicing. They recognised and appreciated his deep sense of justice, and his plain and simple mode of living, and the peculiar appropriateness of his answers to their prayers and grievances, which were always uttered in the most familiar tone, invested him with the influence of a popular chieftain. The judgment with which he selected his most intimate associates strengthened this sentiment, as in those cases where the brilliancy of the court was not so much concerned, as his own feelings of personal confidence, his choice generally fell upon individuals taken from amongst the ranks of the people. At the same time, however, it was well known that, notwithstanding his simple and unostentatious mode of life, he was inflexible in the maintenance of his sovereign authority, and that every assault upon it would be resisted by every means at his command; no persons ventured, therefore, to exhibit in his presence either their discontent

or the feelings which they nourished in their bosoms; on the contrary, they sought to conceal such emotions from his observation by the most joyous display of love and respect. The consequence, therefore, was, that the emperor remained wholly ignorant of the opinions of his subjects, and had no idea of the general feeling of wide-spread discontent which reigned in almost all classes of society; but he lived under the illusion that the few expressions of dissatisfaction which reached his ears, were uttered by mere visionaries or by malevolent individuals. It is the misfortune of all those who hold power in their hands, that they never see mankind except in holiday apparel or in their holiday behaviour; and this is the case no less with monarchs who are born heirs to the purple, than with rulers who have sprung from the ranks of the people. Mankind dissembled its sentiments before Cromwell as well as before King Charles; before Robespierre as well as before Louis, and no less before Napoleon. But even if the Emperor Francis had been acquainted with the sentiments of his people in their fullest extent, he was not the man ever to swerve from the groundwork of his system, which was termed the Metternich system, and which consisted in an unbending resistance to every effort to impose restraint upon his absolute authority, and this arose not so much from vanity as from the dictates of conscience. He was a religious man, and considered it a duty of conscience to desire only what was good and right; and every voluntary consent to weaken the authority placed in his hands by God, awakened his apprehension lest he might be impeded thereby in the discharge of those duties which he recognised as either good or right; and he would, in fact, have considered his conscience burdened with all the weight of the good omitted or the evil committed against his conviction, which might have resulted from any diminution of his authority; so that

if the force of circumstances had obliged him to renounce absolutism, as he had once been constrained to abandon provinces, and to offer up his daughter a sacrifice, as it were, to Moloch, he would probably have chosen to descend from the throne rather than to do outrage to his conscience and peril the salvation of his soul. This conscientiousness constituted his glory as a man, but at the same time was his misfortune as a ruler. Convinced of the purity of his intentions, but immoderately mistrustful of his own sagacity, he often became entangled in doubts which prevented him from adopting any course of action. The source of this weakness sprung partly from the rude style in which his uncle Joseph had undertaken to initiate him into public business. Failing to discover in him his own peculiar energy of mind, he made the young prince so sensible of his full displeasure on that account, that the latter became discouraged and lost all self-confidence. The unfortunate vicissitudes which marked the latter half of the reign of the Emperor Francis were not calculated to remedy the evil. But they served, at the same time, to awaken in his mind a feeling of mistrust in the judgment or uprightness of the councillors by whom he was surrounded, and whose advice, when acted upon, was so often followed by no favourable result. Hence, in addition to a doubt in the correctness of his own judgment, there now ensued a want of confidence in those who were called to aid him in the formation of his opinions. In order to avoid being misled by these, he conceived it his duty to make himself personally acquainted with the details of business, and, in cases of doubt, to consult with different individuals unknown to each other, and who were oftentimes even complete strangers to the service of the state : the conflict of opinions which ensued, only served to render his own judgment more uncertain, and prevented him from coming to any decision, and

the utter paralysis of public business was generally the result. Had the emperor relied more upon his own practical sense and experience, or reposed full confidence in any one of his councillors, the delay in the despatch of business which occasioned so many well-grounded complaints, would not have occurred. It is an opinion very generally entertained, particularly in foreign countries, that Prince Metternich exercised an unbounded influence over the emperor. This opinion is wholly erroneous, for in the home department of government the prince was seldom heard, but was intentionally kept at a distance; here the emperor himself toiled like a chief clerk, and seemed wonderfully pleased at paying himself the very humble compliment "of being likely to become a valuable privy councillor." With advancing age his doubts and scruples of conscience increased, business was more and more procrastinated, and so it happened that the Austrian government remained far behind the demands of the age even in those improvements which could not by possibility impair the principle of absolutism. The emperor and his minister have been accused, unjustly, of remaining stationary, in accordance with certain maxims; but the fact is, they only remained stationary because they were unable to determine with which foot they should begin to march forward. But the consequence of thus remaining stationary, from whatever cause it may have proceeded, was melancholy in the extreme, for it undermined the confidence of the people in the intentions or the capacity of the government, and thereby weakened their moral energy and power to resist the revolutionary party, who carried on their machinations in secret. That this party did not then enter the lists against the government, as it did in the year 1848, must be ascribed alone to the circumstance that domestic and foreign events offered them no prospect of victory.

These observations on the Austrian administration in general require only the assistance of a few supplementary remarks with respect to that portion of the monarchy where, from time immemorial, constitutions were established, namely, Hungary and Transylvania. In both these countries the Estates enjoyed a share in the legislative power, and in many cases a share also in the general government. Thus, the fundamental law required the periodical convocation of the Diet, in Hungary every three years, in Transylvania every year. But the convocation of these Diets was intermitted for a long period of years, and for this reason every species of improvement was also intermitted, which required to be called into life by a formal decree of the legislature, and did not depend upon the mere authority of a royal rescript. When the convocation of the Hungarian Diet at length once more took place, in the year 1825, in consequence of the loud complaints of the people, the king occupied a most painful position with regard to it; for he was obliged to make an acknowledgment detrimental to the royal authority, and to confess, "That he had erred." Concessions were afterwards silently made for the purpose of conciliating men's minds, which, however, entailed far more important consequences than were foreseen, and led the way to the undermining of the complicated constitution of Hungary, in which it was an inherent peculiarity, that a custom acquired the force of law even against the king, when he allowed it to pass without opposition. Thus it happened, that already in the Diet of the year 1825, and more particularly in subsequent years, for want of active opposition on the part of the king, the very groundwork of the Hungarian constitution became entirely altered, either by usurpations on the side of the Estates, or by errors on the side of the viceroy, although the

government neither intended nor suspected such a result. The following examples may serve as illustrations :—The counting of individual votes in the assembly of the Estates, and the consequent power of the majority, formed no part of the Hungarian constitution, the spirit of which was rather to be found in the maxim, " vota non numerantur, sed ponderantur ;" and hence it was intended, not that the " vota majora," but the " vota saniora," should have preponderance, by which means the influence of the high nobility was secured ; because it was the duty of the president, not only in the county assemblies, but also in the assemblies of the Estates, to declare the result according to the votes of the most influential and intelligent members. Upon the occurrence of accidental circumstances, in particular cases, exceptions were made to the above-mentioned maxim, and individual votes were counted, by which means a custom was introduced, which in the year 1830 was silently adopted by the Diet, and was particularly acceptable to the movement party, inasmuch as it afforded them an opportunity of purchasing a majority in the county assemblies, by introducing the corrupt lower order of nobles, who, though qualified to vote, had never previously appeared in those assemblies, and of afterwards substituting in the Diet the illegal majority of individual votes for the constitutional preponderance of the high nobility. The well-known excesses of the so-called *Cortes* in Hungary, which often occasioned bloodshed, sprung from this mistake. The restriction of the right of the towns to vote in the Diet, was the result of a president of the Table of Estates in the year 1830, when the system of counting individual votes was first introduced, reckoning at the scrutiny the votes of all the members for the towns, as constituting a majority of one collective vote. Similar oversights occurred in numerous other instances,

which, being unnoticed by the crown, were adopted as customs, and thus tore one stone after another from the foundation of the constitution, which, though antiquated, was constructed after an intelligent design, until eventually the edifice had lost its solidity.

The course of affairs in Transylvania, where the constitution had conceded to the sovereign the appointment to the highest offices in the administration only upon the recommendation of the Estates, was similar to that which has been already described in Hungary; and therefore, during a long period, the greater part of the Government officials were considered by the Diet to be acting in the illegal discharge of their functions, inasmuch as their appointment by the crown was defective, by reason of the suspension of the Diet.

It was a fortunate circumstance for the government of the Emperor Francis, that the movement of the popular mind in the south-eastern parts of his empire was directed to an entirely different object from those pursued in the west, and that the so-termed Holy Alliance, whose founder was the Emperor Alexander, as well as the resolute support of the King of the French, offered no encouragement to the movement party to carry out their plans. The fermentation in Hungary and Transylvania was, in truth, not occasioned by any chimera of the sovereignty of the people, but by the desire of the privileged classes to assert and to extend their privileges in opposition to the throne, combined with the endeavour to exalt the Magyar people to become the predominant power in Hungary and its crown lands. In those regions the theory of the sovereignty of the people had never been heard of. In the west, where, as we have already observed, such a doctrine had been circulated after the war of liberation, the opinion pre-

vailed (whether correctly or not is unimportant) that the Holy Alliance concealed under its title an alliance of sovereigns against their subjects ; the demagogues had expressed this opinion at the time of its institution, and the sentiment served at least to discourage them, notwithstanding the bitter hate with which they regarded the alliance itself, from commencing a war against half a million of bayonets, which the princes of that alliance had at their command, more particularly as the King of the French, who had been established by the will of the sovereign French people (or at least of the Parisian mob), in the year 1830, did not exhibit the smallest inclination to engage in a contest in support of such a theory. The Emperor Francis closed his earthly pilgrimage in peace, and as his conscience must have reminded him that he had nobly consulted the welfare of his people, and, like a loving father, ceaselessly laboured for the same to the best of his ability, so he might be content to die in the belief that he would ever continue to be regarded as the object of their veneration and love, and bequeath these sentiments as an inheritance to his son and successor, together with all his widely-extended power.

THE EMPEROR FERDINAND.

The disappearance of a monarch, who with a strong hand had personally held the reins of government during almost half a century, who had witnessed, first the curtailment, and then the geographical and political enlargement of his kingdom, who had gained marvellous experience, and had earned for himself personally the respect of all Europe, must have rendered the position of his successor one of extreme ardour and difficulty. The Emperor Ferdinand had inherited

from his father a veneration for rectitude, and a zeal for all that is good, no less than an anxiety for the welfare of his subjects. But nature had not endowed him with equal capacity to undergo bodily and mental exertions. The impossibility, therefore, of his carrying on the affairs of government in the same manner as his father had done, was at once apparent. To the latter, business had become an habitual occupation, with which he could not dispense. The first care, therefore, of the new government should have been to remove from the superintendence of the monarch that mass of business in detail, in the management of which the deceased emperor had taken so much delight, and to entrust it to the care of responsible ministers. The unassuming character of Ferdinand, incapable as he was of mistrust, could not possibly offer any obstacle to a change so fully in accordance with the spirit of the age. It should have been commenced, however, immediately after his accession to the throne, since if once delayed, it was easy to foresee that a love for what was already established would retard the desired improvement, by the argument so constantly employed in life, that there is no good reason why that which happened yesterday and happens to-day should not happen again to-morrow : in which observation we forget that between to-day and to-morrow, the night intervenes, in the shadow of whose darkness much may be prepared to frustrate the usual order of events. A feeling of regard for the memory of the Emperor Francis, honourable in the extreme, but inconsistent with political duties, led, immediately after his decease, to the resolution, that not only the system of government, but the very machinery of the state, as he had used it, should be preserved unchanged,—an unfortunate decision, since the hand failed that was so skilled in putting the machine in motion, and

the spirit, moreover, failed, which in case of necessity was to supply the defects in the worn-out machinery. The construction of this complicated machine, particularly in its internal parts, is so little understood beyond the limits of Austria, that a sketch of it, in this place, cannot be considered inappropriate.

THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT MACHINERY.

Until the month of March, 1848, there was no ministry in the Austrian empire, but only court offices, and they were of this description. For the chief government of the home department there were three aulic chancellorships (viz. an united aulic chancellorship for all parts of the empire not belonging to Hungary or Transylvania, and a separate chancellorship for each of those last-mentioned provinces). For the departments of finance, rents, domains, mines, trade, industry and the post-office, there was one general aulic-chamber. For the administration of the law in those districts which formed no part of Hungary or Transylvania, there was a chief-justiceship. For the united military department, there was the celebrated aulic council of war. For the business of the police and censorship, there was an aulic-department bearing those titles. For the control of the public accounts, there was a general directory of accounts; and finally, for conducting the business of the imperial household and of foreign affairs, there was a private house-court-and-state-chancellorship. In the united aulic chancellorship, there was a separate department for the management of public education, under the title of the aulic commission of studies; and, annexed to the chief-justiceship, there was an aulic commission of legislation to frame all laws relating to the adminis-

tration of justice. These court offices, with the exception of the police and censorship, and the house-court-and-state-chancellorship, had a collegiate administration; that is to say, all their measures were determined at boards by a relative majority of votes; each referendary and voter possessed an individual vote, as well as the president, whose duty it was not to allow any decisions to come into practical operation, if he apprehended any injury might arise therefrom to the service, without first submitting them to the emperor for decision. These court offices were in former times considered as secretaryships of the monarch, they acted in his name, and received the title and the address of "Your Majesty." This custom subsisted up to the days of March, with respect to the chief department of justice, and the two aulic-chancellorships of Hungary and Transylvania, which bodies controlled the administration of justice in those countries.

Originally the heads of the court offices had the same jurisdiction as state secretaries, or ministers, in the real meaning of the word, and sometimes enjoyed that title and rank on account of their own personal qualifications. The head of the house-court-and-state-chancellorship always enjoyed this distinction, oftentimes even in connection with the still more exalted dignity of state chancellor, as was the case first with the celebrated state chancellor Prince Kaunitz, and subsequently with Prince Metternich. They were summoned to councils by the monarch, and up to the last years of the reign of the Empress Maria Theresa there was no corporation in existence to whom the examination and review of the projects emanating from the court offices was committed; but the more important affairs of state were considered, and afterwards decided in councils formed of the chiefs of the court offices under the presidency of the

monarch, held in the presence of a few confidential persons, who had attained the rank of minister of state, or minister of conference, which was the highest office in the empire after that of state-chancellor, although such person might have ceased to hold a portfolio. The rapid development of the moral and industrial resources of Austria, and the reforms in the administration of the home department, instituted by the empress, with the assistance of her son Joseph, tended to increase the amount of public business, and to render it more complicated, and thence arose the necessity for increasing the number of confidential persons in the imperial councils, which was effected by employing persons from each separate department, who were wholly unfitted, in respect of their other qualifications, to fill the highest offices in the state. The empress therefore created the council of state, and summoned to the same a small but carefully selected number of nobles from the different branches of the administration, who might, in conjunction with the ministers of state and the ministers of conference, form her political court of conscience. The duty which she imposed on the members of this new council was very characteristic. They were bound to speak according to their individual convictions, with the additional understanding that they should receive, during the period of their lives, the large yearly salary of 8,000 florins, even in case of their secession from the council, and this arrangement was made for the express purpose of ensuring their protection, lest apprehension from the consequences of the imperial anger, occasioned by an unrestrained expression of their sentiments, might cause them to swerve from the conscientious discharge of their duty.

As long as the original character of these court offices and of the court council was preserved, the want of an united ministry could never be felt in Austria. But in the

course of time these bodies lost their peculiar character. During the first part of the reign of the Emperor Francis, he presided in person at the conferences, and to assist him in the discharge of his duty, he had a cabinet minister at his side, who was in constant connection, not only officially, but personally, with the president of the court offices, the state-councillors, and the ministers of state and conference, and he daily brought before the notice of the emperor the subjects to be considered. In the year 1805 this cabinet minister (who at that period was the Count Colloredo) was dismissed from his post at the desire of Napoleon, and the office has never since been filled up: the emperor personally undertook the arduous task of holding together all the threads of the general administration, and availed himself of the occasional assistance, first of one and then of another of his ministers of state or conference, but never otherwise than in a temporary and partial manner. Oral communications between the emperor and the heads of the state departments became now more and more rare; they were obliged to submit everything to the emperor's notice in writing; they were forbidden to appear before him in discharge of their official business, without a summons, or without the imperial permission previously obtained, and many months often elapsed without their being summoned together. After this fashion, those who filled the court offices gradually sunk from their rank of participators in the government, to the condition of mere officials of the administration; each busied himself in his own particular department, without regard to the duties of the others, and a substantial co-operation was wanting for the general benefit of the state. The council of state, which should have formed the focus for concentrating the rays of government, did not fulfil such an intention; for the great mass of business in detail, which had been

referred to this body for its advice, had produced an important increase in the number of its members, not by the addition of *bonâ fide* privy councillors, but by the introduction of official referendaries of lower rank and inferior capacity, and dividing them into sections adapted to the various departments of business. The personal credit of the members of the state council was materially diminished, their proceedings were tedious and procrastinated, each section deemed itself the representative of that particular branch of business committed to its superintendence, and considered that the whole was represented only by the Emperor Francis. It did not happen, however, that all the business which came before the throne was referred for decision to the state council, to whose province it belonged. The emperor caused a large proportion of it to be transacted without the intervention of that council, in "cabinet fashion," as it was termed, by a single member of the body, whom he selected, or by one of the ministers of state or conference, occasionally even by persons who belonged to neither category, and were even strangers to the service of the state : in which case it was forbidden to those who were so honoured with the imperial confidence to speak of the transaction. It often became the difficult task of the monarch alone to consider the effect which certain measures proposed by one department might exercise on another branch of the administration. The state council was not capable of taking a general view of the affairs of government, and could not, therefore, supply the deficiency which existed in the very heart of the executive, for want of a ministerial council. In consequence of this manner of conducting the public business, everything depended upon the personal qualifications of the emperor. But as personal qualifications are not hereditary, like the throne, it was a matter of the most urgent

necessity, on the accession of the new emperor, to effect a change, adapted to the wants of the time, in the whole system of the court offices and the council of state. The system of transacting business at boards by the court offices, which had no cognizance of matters of law, might, at the time of its institution, when the quantity of business and the number of members were not very large, have been liable to no strong objection; but of late they had to contend with the two-fold disadvantage of impeding the discharge of pressing business and acting in concert with a class of officials who were exempt from personal responsibility, since the quantity of business to be transacted, often, too, of the most complicated nature, allowed neither a thorough discussion nor a complete decision, the discussion being in most cases a mere matter of form, which served merely to screen the official from all subsequent responsibility. The unfitness of this collective system of transacting matters of business which, from their nature, required despatch, secrecy, and special knowledge, was already evident; and for this reason the system of presidential management was introduced as a palliative. According to this system, the president withdrew a portion of the business from the management of the board, in order to despatch the same by virtue of his own mere authority, with the aid of a councillor's or secretary's pen. In many of the court offices, particularly in the general court-chamber, the business was excessively procrastinated. But this system had the evil result of directing the attention of the president too much to such affairs as were reserved for himself, and to the business of the boards, and diminished the superintendence he was bound to maintain over the referendaries and voters, as in such superintendence lay the only guarantee against inattention, prejudice, or obstinacy on their part.

The jurisdiction of these court offices was strictly defined by the emperor; whatever duties lay beyond or above such jurisdiction was reserved for the imperial determination. But the boundary was found sometimes to lie more in matter of form than of substance. Strictly speaking, whatever matters were not in accordance with established precedent ought to be referred to the throne, but whatever lay within the confines of precedent might be immediately decided by the court office to the jurisdiction of which it belonged. The most extraordinary contradictions resulted from this maxim. A conscript, for instance, summoned for military service, if his claims of exemption were not admitted by the civil and military officials, could, strictly speaking, only be relieved from service by an imperial decree, whilst the duty of determining the number of recruits to be annually kept on foot, although this varied every year, depended altogether on the decision of the war department. The thousand workmen who, during a great many years, had found fixed employment in the public works, but who had not gone through the formality of taking an oath, when they became disabled, could not be entitled to the smallest pension without the previous consent of the emperor himself, because, according to established precedent, the oath of allegiance alone gave a title to the protection of the state. The conversion of the smallest portions of forest into arable land required the special permission of the throne, because the forest laws enacted, in order to prevent a scarcity of wood, that the extent of the forests should not be diminished. A landlord wishing to purchase a few square yards of ground from his tenant for building, or the formation of a garden, was obliged first to obtain the permission of the emperor himself, because the tenant laws forbade the increase of domains by any addition of peasant lands.

Besides the impediments thus offered to the efficiency of the court offices by the effect of a particular system, they were not unfrequently interfered with by the emperor himself, even in matters which came particularly within their attribution. The absolute rulers of Austria had, for instance, given their subjects so uncontrolled a right of petitioning, that every individual might apply immediately to the emperor, and was allowed not only to hand in his petitions personally, at the weekly audiences, but even to send them by post, as the post-office authorities had received directions to forward all communications for the emperor to the imperial cabinet. The applications were examined on their arrival, and if their contents seemed to require no particular attention, they were transmitted forthwith to the court offices, to be dealt with by those departments. But if circumstances were therein stated which appeared either to entitle the petitioner to a favour, or raised a doubt as to the impartiality of the authorities, the emperor marked (signed) the petition,—that is, he wrote with his own hand in a corner thereof the name of the president of the particular court office to whose cognizance the matter belonged; every such signature had the effect of preventing the petition from being dealt with by the office before the whole transaction had been explained to the emperor, and before the intended decision of the court office had been approved of by him. These signatures (as they were technically termed), which so constantly occurred, produced as a necessary result, not only the delay of business, but impaired the efficiency of the administration. The superintendence exercised over the court offices, for the purpose chiefly of preventing them from overstepping their jurisdiction, was ensured by a regulation, which rendered it necessary to submit to the emperor a programme of the business which was to be transacted at every sitting. The

examination and supervision of this programme devolved upon the council of state, which exercised a strict control.

Although by these means valuable precautions were taken against the abuse of official authority, the working of the court offices was, however, a good deal trammelled, and a species of intimidation was exercised, not only over them, but over their sub-functionaries. The result was, that every official, in order to escape responsibility in doubtful cases, instead of acting, had recourse to consultations, and thus the subaltern leaned upon his superior, and the superior upon the emperor, upon whom consequently, in the opinion of the people, rested the responsibility of all obnoxious measures.

The court offices had no connection with the state council, or with the voters of the cabinet. They submitted their proposals to the emperor. Thus their original character of secretaries of state was maintained in form, since the state council was not interposed between them and the emperor, but stood behind the latter, to receive their proposals from him when they had been considered by the state council, and to return them to him when they had undergone revision. But this strict adherence to form carried with it a material injury to the substance. The court offices only learned the emperor's decision upon their measures through the medium of cabinet letters (which were termed hand-billets), and even then only received the emperor's determination, briefly announced, without any reasons being given for the same; and this course was pursued in conformity with the maxim, that it was not deemed compatible with absolute power to render any account respecting the grounds of an imperial decree. In numerous cases, therefore, when their proposals were not adopted, or were subjected to material modifications, they were unable to learn the motive of the rejection or the alteration, they

could never therefore comprehend the spirit of their master's orders, but were circumscribed in carrying them into execution by the limits which seemed to be contained within the strict letter of the decree. Misunderstandings and indifference followed the execution of such decrees, and displays of vexation and malicious joy were not wanting at the unsuccessful result of a groundless decision against their opinion, so that not unfrequently the secretaries of the emperor came into moral conflict with their master. This serious evil might have been remedied by the simple arrangement of calling in the chiefs of the court offices to consider the amendments of the state or cabinet council, whenever it was proposed to reject, or materially to alter, the propositions emanating from the court offices; but in opposition to this plan, a love for old usages arrayed itself, together with the satisfaction which the council of state and the cabinet voters found in claiming part in the infallibility of their client.

In the chief towns of the provinces, the country magistrates were subject to the court offices at Vienna, and amongst these, always excepting the management of the police, the collective system of transacting business was established, and was followed by the same evil results. The police establishments occupied a two-fold position; they were, for example, subject to the provincial authorities, and with respect to matters that concerned the inferior police, subject even to the inferior authorities; but at the same time they received their orders immediately from the court office of police, and made reports immediately to it, a course, as is generally known, which gives rise to perpetual suspicions and discontent on the part of both the provincial and the inferior authorities.

The provincial authorities for the management of the interior (political) as well as the finance administration,

had in the chief city of every circle (in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, in every province), the government officers at their disposal. By those to whom the administration of the finance was entrusted, the system of transacting business by boards was practised; by those who conducted the interior (political) administration (called circle-offices, and in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, delegations), the official authority and responsibility was transferred personally to the president (called the captain of a circle or delegate).

The provincial authorities for the administration of justice exercised control over the judges of the first instance, who in some places consisted of boards of magistrates appointed by the prince or the towns, in others, were single judges appointed by the prince or the lord.

In Hungary and Transylvania this difference existed, that the provincial authorities for the interior administration and for the affairs of justice, had no government officers under their control in the separate departments (the counties), but only municipal officers; who, with the exception of the supreme counts, nominated by the prince, and irremovable from office, or, in their absence, the removable administrators of counties, elected by the counties themselves, were either badly or not at all paid, and were irremovable for the period of their office, and on this account, particularly of late, only obeyed such orders as they deemed consistent with their municipal authority. According to the established proceedings of the boards, the president appointed by the prince (either the supreme counts or the administrators) had no power to enforce obedience to superior orders.

In the crown lands which did not form part of Hungary, sometimes civic magistrates, sometimes government district commissioners, sometimes private manorial officers, were the

chief authorities of the interior (political) administration under the circle-offices; whilst under the delegations in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, there were always government district commissioners, to which essential difference we must ascribe the more orderly course of proceedings so remarkable in that kingdom.

In those provinces of the empire where the estates, as they were called, existed, these latter assumed some times *co-ordinate*, at other times *subordinate* authority, with respect to the imperial authorities, which conduct was the unavoidable source of differences between them. These estates had not the character of representatives of the people, in the sense which, in our days, is attributed to the expression; they were privileged corporations, who only represented their own rights, which had been conceded to them by monarchs at various times; rights which neither gave them a direct share in the legislation, nor required their consent to the imposition of taxes in general, but were limited to the announcement of the direct taxes to be paid by the province annually, before their imposition, and to certain branches of the administrative business apportioned to them, viz. the imposition, assessment, and levying of the direct taxes; further, to the distribution of funds placed at their disposal by the princes, sometimes for settled purposes, sometimes for objects subsequently to be declared, and to the management of the institutions supported by such funds, as well as to the maintaining and discharging the credits which had been opened by the state in former times. They represented the general interests of the people only so far as these coincided with their own particular advantage. For this reason, and more particularly because they were a privileged corporation, they enjoyed no remarkable sympathy at the hands of the people. The Emperor Joseph II. had considered

them an impediment to his plans of reform, and discontinued their sittings, a proceeding which increased his popularity in the eyes of all those who did not belong to the privileged body, and, in conjunction with the suppression of the power of the church, earned for him great respect and veneration from the philosophers of that age and their dependants, friends of enlightenment, as they were termed, and who were very numerous in the higher and middle classes of society. The Emperor Leopold II. re-established the estates. The Emperor Francis allowed them to continue, not destroying their form, but allowing them the smallest possible degree of influence in the administration, and scarcely any in matters of legislation.

In the discharge of business, it was a maxim with all the officials to permit nothing to be decided upon moral conviction, but in administrative as well as in judicial matters, to ground the decision of all disputed points upon formal proofs, and, on the other hand, in administrative measures, previously to take the opinions of all the officials concerned, beginning with the lowest. The course of appeal against decisions which did not relate to the functions of the tribunal (in which case two similar decisions precluded all further appeal) lay through all the courts; thus in an administrative question, an appeal lay, against a decision of the authorities of a particular place, to the office of the circle, from thence to the office of the province, and from thence to the office of the court; and even against the last-mentioned decision one might appeal to the emperor, and if he signed the petition of complaint, it went once more through the whole series of officials, setting aside all the previous proceedings, sometimes occasioning new steps to be commenced, which were again brought before the throne, and at length sent with the imperial decree to pursue the same course

again. However honourable such a system might be for the monarch's heart, whose object was to curb the arbitrary conduct of his officials, and which certainly, in a moral point of view, restrained his own absolute power, since he regularly decided no cause which he had not himself heard, it nevertheless produced an immense increase and delay of business as the inevitable result.

The task of setting bounds to the functions of the provincial officials, and of preventing them from exceeding their proper limits, was provided for by measures similar to those already mentioned, which controlled the officers of the court. The jealousy which these superintendents felt against their subordinates increased in indirect proportion to their rank; so that those who stood in immediate connection with the people had the smallest field to exercise their activity. A system of consulting in place of acting was thus gradually established, since a consultation with a superior was sure to protect an inferior official from responsibility, because, generally speaking, the neglect of timely activity was considered far less culpable than any accidental excess of authority. The result of all this necessarily was a wearisome, timid, and slow course of business. And since, moreover, the supervision of the jurisdiction of the tribunals rather raised the question whether a given matter of business should be transacted at all, than how it should be despatched, the art of protracting litigation attained a high degree of refinement, by means of new proceedings, and agreements with assistant officials, and consultations with those who filled a higher department. Like criminals condemned to the tread-mill in England, who are obliged to keep on treading, even though the wheel produces no beneficial result, so did these officials often pursue their labours without any advantage accruing from their exertions. It is

easy to imagine how they became weary and dispirited by such unproductive efforts. Their discipline was no longer moral, but became a mere matter of form ; many of the official persons, for example, considered it their duty, not so much to transact their business according to the spirit of the government, as to work after a certain prescribed form ; and even in this respect, it often happened that just enough was done to screen the officials from the displeasure of their superiors. The superiors themselves, indeed, had much difficulty in controlling the mode of transacting business, since every individual who was in the actual service of the state, from having taken the necessary oath, became, from that circumstance, almost immoveable from office ; because no official who had once been sworn into the lowest office could be dismissed without the consent of two councillors of justice, except under the sentence of a criminal court ; and against an actual sentence of dismissal there was an appeal to all the higher courts, and even to the throne ; and, indeed, the councillors of justice, whose duty it was to pronounce the first decision, but still more the superior authorities, considered it their chief duty to protect the individual officers, particularly if their superiors had the character of being unusually strict and rigorous. Under such circumstances, it redounded much to the honour of the Austrian officials, that with the exception of their character for indecision already alluded to, and their indifference in carrying out the views of the government, they seldom gave occasion for well-grounded complaints of inattention, prejudice, or over-familiarity ; the exceptional cases, where the officials were negligent in attention to their duty, dishonest in their conduct, or personally condemned by public opinion, were not more frequent in Austria than in other countries. The cause of any well-founded discontent, which might be heard at the working of

the state-machine, was not to be found in the unfitness of its particular parts, so much as in its general construction, which impeded its motion by the excess of friction, or more especially in the insufficiency of its moving power. This power became languid, and it worked more efficiently in particular parts, than upon the entire mass of the mechanism; or in other words, the state was *administered*, but not *governed*. The ordinary business which required to be transacted was done, if not with extraordinary despatch, at least correctly and justly; but that business which from its very nature should have commenced rather with the superior than with the inferior authorities, viz. the quiet reform of antiquated practices, in conformity with the exigencies of the time, those well-planned regular improvements in the institutions of the country, upon a scheme, which should consider and include the empire at large—such changes were neglected, except perhaps in some instances, where the operations of the government were anticipated by classes of subjects who were not appointed for that purpose; and the government itself, that should have taken the initiative in such measures, was obliged to follow in the wake.

After this fashion was the Austrian state machine constructed, when the Emperor Ferdinand ascended the throne, and so it remained in fact till the month of March, 1848. One defect, however, had, soon after his accession, become too evident to escape his attention. This was the joint transaction of business by the court offices and the privy council which surrounded the emperor, whose duty it was to consider and examine the propositions of the former. To remedy this evil without much disturbance to the existing order of things was a perplexing task. The solution of the difficulty was attempted, by introducing a new form in the central administration of affairs, and by constructing a new

board, the Conference of State, which was to be a deliberative body in the strictest sense, and was formed partly of permanent and partly of temporary members. According to the "Austrian State and Court Hand-Book" for the year 1848, which announces it at the head of the second division, entitled "The State," the two Arch-Dukes, the Chancellor of State, and the senior Minister of State and Conference in point of rank, were to form the permanent members.

The temporary ministers are mentioned in the same place. They are the remaining ministers of state and conference, according to the importance of their duties, the chiefs of sections who were councillors of state, the councillors of state and conference, and the presidents of the court offices.

This plan was not sufficient to remedy the great evil of the state-machine, which consisted in the want of solidity in that organ which, fixed in the centre, conducted the business of all branches of the administration, viz. the ministry, or the court offices, as they were termed in Austria; for the chiefs of this organ were not permanent, but temporary members, being only in particular and exceptional cases, supplementary members of the state conference, and consequently they preserved their former isolated character. The objection to this plan was, that it was animated by no active spirit, since the two men of business, whose task it should have been to infuse this activity into it, could not spare the necessary time from their other occupations. The chancellor of state was, for example, fully occupied in transacting the business belonging to the ministry of foreign affairs, which was committed to his immediate superintendence; and it required all the quickness of thought and rapid facility of expression, all the remarkable activity and devotion to the service of the state which even the enemies of Prince Metternich must admit that he possessed, to preserve him

from giving way under the mass of business that pressed upon him at his advanced age; the other, Count Kolowrath, held no portfolio, but, as is generally known in Vienna, he was constantly employed in the official duty of superintending the most important and confidential affairs of state, of examining all matters connected with the court and the expenditure of the imperial family, and of reviewing and examining the work of the councillors of state and the cabinet officials before they came before the Archduke Louis, to be submitted to the emperor; and he had in addition to perform the duty, if not to enjoy the title, of the cabinet minister who had been always at the side of the Emperor Francis till the year 1805. This duty was so extensive, that to assist in its discharge, two high state officials—councillors of court—with several official clerks, were assigned to him; and this business required the more attention, from the fact that any observations he might make on the various matters which he undertook to examine, were never communicated to others, and therefore he had to pronounce the final opinion, which became the more important in consequence of the confidence which the emperor reposed in him. Time could not be found for regular oral consultations with the members of the state conference on business relating to the empire in general; the reference of particular subjects to that board for consideration did not occur regularly, but by fits, and accidentally, and the decision on such occasional matters was usually communicated only in writing, and accordingly without affording any opportunity for comparing ideas and correcting impressions. For these reasons, this institution, which was intended to supply the want of a ministerial council, failed in its purpose, and produced no other result than to add a third system to the two original plans (to wit, the state council and the cabinet), through

which business to be transacted by the emperor was brought before his notice, and thus in place of promoting a union, occasioned a greater division. The temporary members of the conference of state could exercise no beneficial influence upon that body. Their position resembled a cipher in arithmetic, which only has value when a figure stands before it.

A gross injustice would be committed against the statesmen of Austria by supposing that they had not long recognized the defects of the state machine. All those who have ever been in confidential communication with them, must acknowledge that the evils had not escaped their attention. Above all, Prince Metternich made no secret of his conviction that the chief fault of the government lay in its *not governing*, and that this defect arose from confounding the executive with the legislative departments. But an admission, to produce benefit, must embody itself in action. And the force of habit, combined with the want of decision and union, prevented the intention of acting from being reduced to practice. No one deemed the storm so near, and when at length it burst forth, the worn-out machinery was no longer capable of governing the vessel of the state, and it became the sport of the wind and the waves.

THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

The causes which had prevented a timely reform of the state machine, on the accession of the Emperor Ferdinand, though they were of such a nature as (except in Hungary and Transylvania) to depend on the will of the monarch alone, must have stood still more in the way of a change in the system of government, besides which the relations of

Austria to foreign powers were to be taken into consideration. It was for this reason that the system of government of the Emperor Francis remained wholly untouched.

We have already adverted to the chief maxim of this system: it was the unabated maintenance of the sovereign's authority, and a denial of all claim on the part of the people to a participation in that authority. This maxim was accompanied by two others, which were meant to serve as props to it. One was the maintenance of the paternal character of the government, and the other the defence and encouragement of Catholicism.

From these three maxims emanated all the proceedings of the government. The contradictions which an attentive observer may notice in particular government measures will be explained by considering the predominance of one or other of these maxims: sometimes it might be accidental, and at other times it might arise from the force of circumstances. Thus, the police provisions respecting passports, the strict censorship exercised over publications, the restrictions on public meetings, the direction of the species of instruction to be taught in schools of every kind, the suppression of the provincial estates, were consequences of the first maxim. On the other hand, in the execution of all ordinances and prohibitions, the second maxim gave rise to so lax a system, that their full weight was felt by only a few individuals, and those were persons whose conduct had made them particularly obnoxious or had provoked in too marked a manner the attention of the police. The strictness of the censorship, more especially, was only exercised against works and journals published in the country, and against the public advertisements of booksellers. All foreign literary productions were easily obtained in private, so that a man of any literary pretensions would have been ashamed in society to acknowledge himself

unacquainted with a forbidden book or journal that had excited observation: for instance, even in the presence of the highest officials, and in the most public places, it was customary to speak openly of the worst articles in the journal *Die Grenzboten*, since no one thought it his business to inquire how the speaker became acquainted with such an article.* Directions were previously given to the professors, prescribing in what manner and on what subjects they were to lecture; but if they taught differently, they incurred no censure provided their teaching impugned no dogma of Catholicity. For instance, after possession had been taken by Austria of the territory of Cracow, a professor at Vienna chose for a subject of public disputation for a doctor's degree a question which afforded an opportunity of condemning this act of the government in the severest terms. The circumstance caused excitement; the professor was examined, and he excused himself by proving the good intention which had actuated him to choose this subject, being desirous to correct the erroneous opinions of those who had expressed themselves loudly against the government. And though from the style in which he had opposed the candidate for the degree, in the public disputation, it was

* The following decree which appeared in the Gazette of Vienna (*Wiener Zeitung*) of 14th July, 1850, forms a contrast to the proceedings before March :—

"*Vienna, 13th July*, 1850.

"Sentence of imprisonment (profosen-arrest) for four weeks was pronounced against Joseph Schönpflug, for receiving the *Presse*, a forbidden newspaper," &c. &c.

From the Imperial Royal Central Military Commission.

It is probable that *before* March 1848, the military provost would have found it necessary to provide receivers of newspapers with board and lodging, if a state of siege, in the absence of war, had been at that time known in Austria. That such a resource was unknown, and that there were no laws against riots, was a defect in the legislative system, which was not recognised before the events of March, when the necessity of supplying such a defect became evident. It appears that the completion of the Austrian laws as to exceptional cases which were previously unknown, was also a consequence of those events.

manifest that he desired to produce the very contrary effect, yet he continued professor. In the month of March, 1848, this professor became an active leader in the disturbances created by the students. The government, for the purpose of acting a paternal part, behaved like a good-humoured father, who takes no notice of the inattention of his children, provided he at the same time preserves his authority unimpaired. The court itself afforded an illustration of this, inasmuch as persons who had signalized themselves as notorious opposers of its measures, met sometimes with a more friendly reception on public occasions than its warmest advocates. However much such conduct may testify to the goodness of the prince's heart, it must always be open to question, since it lessens the influence which he might exert by the expression of his dissatisfaction in those cases where the law has been set at defiance. How great was the impression which the imperial discontent was capable of producing may be proved by an example that occurred in the time of the Empress Maria Theresa. A Hungarian archbishop of her appointment had not subsequently supported her cause with the zeal that was expected from him. On one occasion, therefore, she passed him by, at a levee, as if she had not observed him. The chamberlain, under the impression that she had accidentally overlooked him, directed her attention to him, but received a short answer from the empress in the blunt reply, "The proud priest does not care for me." The high spiritual functionary found himself so oppressed by the weight of his monarch's anger, that he took to his bed, and this example served as a warning to others. From the maxim of governing paternally emanated the system of governing too much, since in place of the observance of that rule which secures the real freedom of each individual,—viz., that government should only command what is absolutely necessary for the

public good, and only prohibit what is absolutely injurious,—the Austrian government considered itself bound to extend its imperative influence over matters which were likely to be more or less useful, as well as to protect the interests of individuals. Innumerable orders and prohibitions were the consequence of this error; but as, for the most part, they were not enforced in consequence of the predominating paternal mildness of the government, the consequence was, that the government lost respect. The maintenance of the doctrine of absolutism against the continual assaults of the spirit of the age could not be attained by a system of paternal mildness, but only by an exercise of Napoleon-like rigour. The effect of two such opposite maxims entangled the government in contradiction with itself, and being thus exposed to the ridicule and the attacks of the evil-disposed, it gradually lost the confidence of its subjects. The third maxim,—viz., the defence and encouragement of Catholicism,—might at least have produced the effect of affording a strong support to the temporal power by contributing the whole weight of the spiritual authority in aid of the doctrines of government as opposed to the theory of the sovereignty of the people, and in maintaining the principle of pure monarchy, if it had been fully applied to that purpose. But this was not the case. The Catholic Church, in spite of the example of later times, even in constitutional governments, was not liberated from that superintendence which, since the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II., different laws and regulations had subjected her to; the opposition in some points that existed between the Canon and the Austrian law, particularly on questions of marriage, and which gave rise to endless disputes with Rome, was not removed, and on this account the discontent of Rome and her dependants was perpetuated. On the

other hand, the government adopted, in highest spheres, that most injurious of all measures, namely, connivance, and favoured by its tacit indulgence a breach of many of the laws and regulations in particular cases, by which means the under-officials, who considered the maintenance of those rules to be their duty, often came into conflict with their spiritual superiors. Such conflicts necessarily produced an injurious effect on the ultramontane party, on that numerous body of indifferent persons who belonged chiefly to the middle classes, and upon such as were not Catholics, as they evinced an irresolution or an incapability to change those things openly which the sovereign, by the state of the existing law, admitted to be opposed to the doctrines of Catholicism and the rights of the church; or else they indicated a fear on his part to administer laws which, whilst they were disagreeable to the church, he had not courage to repeal.* The favour extended to the monks, especially to

* The Emperor Francis and some of his advisers had long cherished the desire of relieving the Apostolical See of its difficulties, and of restoring the union between church and state by a modification of the laws affecting the Catholic Church. The interview of the emperor with Pope Pius VII. at Rome, after the restoration of the Pope's territory, converted that desire into a determination. The emperor, however, during his subsequent reign of twenty years, found himself deficient in that energy which was required for the execution of his design, which met with opposition on the part of many eminent statesmen, as well as from public opinion. His delay alarmed him on his death-bed, and he demanded from those who were to inherit his power the execution of what he had not been able to accomplish himself. The government which followed also hesitated to revoke the laws of the Emperor Joseph, referring to the Church, and this will excite no surprise, if we only regard the effect which that modification in 1850 produced among all classes, although it was an inevitable consequence of the triumph of the popular element in 1848. Were not those free citizens, who, through the *Habeas Corpus* Act (the fundamental laws of the 4th of March of 1849), had been secured against any external power of the chiefs of the Catholic Church, seen to tremble when they read in the imperial decree of the 18th of April, 1850, among the rights of the Catholic bishops, that of inflicting *ecclesiastical punishments?* These

those two orders whose influence indeed was a subject of unnecessary apprehension to many—the Jesuits and the

stunning words (which it would have been wise and easy to avoid), by reflecting upon the mind the terrors of the middle ages, such as excommunication, whipping, and other degrading penances, expiated at the church doors, created so powerful an excitement, as to induce the Catholic bishops to issue pastoral letters in the interest of religion, in order to pacify the faithful. The effect of a similar ordinance issued before March, at the time when the State was called a *police State*, would have been of a more terrifying and lasting nature. There existed at that time a *dominant* religion in Austria, whose ministers had recourse, for the execution of their statutes, to the aid of the police. The government of the Emperor Ferdinand and that of his father were wanting in courage to enforce the above measure. It was owing to this, and by no means to any hostility towards the Catholic Church, that the laws of Joseph in ecclesiastical matters underwent no alteration ; their severity was softened by a lax enforcement of them. During the sixty years of their existence, however, the Catholic religion in Austria was in no way exposed to danger. The numbers of the Catholics increased every year, by individuals of other confessions who voluntarily joined them. The bishops and other members of the church were not absolutely precluded from access to the supreme head of the church ; on the contrary, an imperial agent at Rome interceded for them at the least possible expense in all their concerns with the Apostolic See. The regulations for Divine worship, which had been issued with the cognizance of the archiepiscopal ordinary at Vienna, did, it is true, limit the excessive luxury exhibited at church services, but did not interfere with its edifying and solemn nature. The executive power, in matters of discipline, with regard to the diocesan clergy, had never been withdrawn from the bishops. They were allowed to administer the penal system of the canon law, without any interference on the part of the government, except in cases of deposition from cures, for which a preliminary consultation with the civil courts was required. It was requisite also that the episcopal ordinances in general should receive the assent of the government *before* their publication. As a reason for this, we must, as it appears to us, refer to the claims which the state church had on the temporal power for the maintenance of its enactments. The 4th of March, 1849, had cancelled those claims ; their effects, consequently ceased also, and the anticipations of the benefits ensuing from it, both to the Church and to the State, called forth expressions of joy. But why were those rejoicings combined with invectives against the Austrian government previous to the month of March? Why must we, for instance, hear and read language like the following?—

"The ears and the mouth of the holy father have now at last been freed from their unworthy fetters, and the mortifying barriers have been removed within which suspicion had confined him."

"Let the network of petty considerations and anxieties be now rent

Liguorians,—and the use made of the police authority to enforce obedience to mere ecclesiastical regulations (for example, the infliction of punishment for joining in music and dancing, even in non-Catholic houses, on Fridays and Saturdays; the orders given to tavern-keepers, and which occasioned so much coarse wit, on days of abstinence, to separate those who ate meat from those who followed the Catholic regulation of fasting),—such things were too much opposed to the habits and spirit of the age not to become subjects of complaint and ridicule, and, in most cases, to be wholly disobeyed. Most injurious to the non-Catholics was the established custom, that in the application of the law of toleration to the establishment of non-Catholic almshouses and schools, the government officials required the opinion of the Catholic bishop as the ordinary; for endless postponements of the decision were the consequence, whilst Catholic priests and bishops were placed in the disagreeable situation of being considered as lukewarm pastors, if they gave an instantaneous approbation, or of coming into collision with the authorities, if they raised objections and scruples from orthodox grounds, without any other result being produced than that which the temporal authorities alone could have gathered from the enactments of the temporal law. Complaints of the non-Catholics, and dissensions with such of the Catholic clergy as could not wholly agree in opinion

asunder, surrounded by which a suspicious watchfulness over the Church was regarded as the essence of political wisdom."

"By the legislation of former times, the Church in Austria was condemned to sink down into a state of utter exhaustion," &c. &c.

Might not similar language,—as it reproaches the Austrian government up to the 18th of April, 1850, with hostile sentiments against the Catholic Church and the Pope,—have been more appropriately uttered by those political fanatics of Italy, who in such reproaches find sophistical reasons for those crusades, which they, two years back, undertook with consecrated arms against Austria?

with the authorities, were the consequence of such an objectionable course.

From this hasty sketch it is evident that the Austrian system of government was untenable, since it depended upon maxims which were in contradiction to one another. The force of circumstances, personal influence, or mere chance, gave the preponderance to one or other of these maxims alternately, and the conduct of the government acquired thereby an uncertain and wavering character, and it lost all respect and confidence. There is a certain species of envious and malicious satisfaction inseparable from human nature, which evinces itself in endeavouring to discover the weak points of any authority to which we are subject, and in preferring to display them to public notice rather than point out its peculiar advantages. Accordingly by following such a course every defect of the government was rendered much more prominent than the good qualities by which it was distinguished, and which were both numerous and valuable. It would not be easy to find a government in whose eyes the prerogatives of justice were held more sacred than the Austrian—a government by which equality before the laws in every condition was more disinterestedly recognized, which more sedulously promoted the real welfare of its subjects, or exhibited greater zeal in examining the best means whereby this welfare could be secured for every rank of life. The establishment of the national school system has been acknowledged by foreigners well versed in such matters to be one of the best of its kind in Europe, and its further improvement has ever been an object of constant anxiety with the government. To what a height education was carried in natural history, mathematics, physics, chemical and technical science, may be best illustrated by the impulse given to trade, commerce, and

manufactures, the productions of which enter into competition with those of foreign countries; and particularly by the construction of immense public works; for example, the railroads, the most difficult in Europe, in whose construction no other persons than native engineers, educated in native institutions, were employed. The course was open to individuals of all nations, all classes, and all Christian creeds, to attain the highest offices of the state; hundreds of examples could be adduced in support of this assertion, but it will suffice to allude to the two last presidents* of the Exchequer chamber (the ministers of finance, properly so termed), both of whom, without the advantages of noble blood, or connection with influential officials, or the gifts of fortune, attained their high position and baronial rank by means of their own personal merit alone, and to the vice-president of the superior court of justice, Baron von Gärtner, and to the court councillor in the united court chancery, Baron von Frossdik, both of whom were non-Catholics. It was not the rule to inquire into the nationality of an official. The great majority of officials, even in the higher departments, sprang from the rank of citizens. Promotion in the army was attained by men of all nations and all creeds, by citizens as well as by nobles. Offences in the nature of partizanship and of patronage exercised by individual superiors in appointments and promotions are by no means rare in constitutional states, and even in republics. In Austria, therefore, they did not arise from the system of absolute government, to which at most indulgence to the offenders might be imputed. The discovery of faults and errors in a system of government should never render us blind to its advantages. The unmeasured abuse with which the Austrian press, as soon as it became free, in the middle of March,

* Baron d'Eichhoff and Charles Fred. Baron Kubeck.—ED.

assailed the government which had existed prior to the month of March, must fill all unprejudiced persons with contempt and disgust. Whoever may have read in the daily press the charges of a crushing coercion and of a systematic stupifying influence practised by Austria against her subjects, without ever having visited the country ; whoever may have read in the *Constitution* (No. 174, p. 1637), a paper glowing with love for the people, that before the days of March the Austrian peasant and the ox that drew his plough were on a perfect equality, and then immediately after those days may have observed how, in spite of this crushing coercion, in spite of this universal stupefaction, a thousand gallant combats for liberty took place in all quarters of the empire ; how a thousand keen and enlightened statesmen arose, who, by speech and writing, taught their profound wisdom in unions, clubs, provincial assemblies, and parliaments, by the aid of books, newspapers, and mural advertisements—a thousand philosophers, who announced the results of their sagacious inquiries—a hundred thousand electors, who were capable of choosing lawgivers for Buda-Pest, Vienna, Frankfurt, and half a dozen Austrian provincial parliaments,—such an unprejudiced witness must be asked to believe that the deluge of March carried away all the enslaved, and stupified population of the Austrian empire into the depth of the ocean, and that a new host, like Pyrrha and Deucalion, came forth from the House of Assembly at Vienna and the Hall of the Diet at Presburg, who, by their successful exertions, caused the demoralized, ignorant mob, of the days antecedent to March, to rise up well-instructed and accomplished citizens, ripe and ready to undertake the duties of self-government.

If, in accordance with a sense of honour, it be mean and unworthy to insult a fallen foe, what judgment does the

abuse of a fallen government deserve,—a government which, without an effort to defend itself by arms, yielded to the loudly-expressed opinion of the people; which, though it may be charged with errors in the course it adopted, can never be accused of malevolent intentions. The system which it adopted, sprang from the conviction of the heart and the conscience of the Emperor Francis. He and his successor recognized in this system the conditions on which the empire depended for its existence, and the most certain means for advancing and establishing the happiness of their people: their most distinguished statesmen entertained this conviction, and honourably supported it. The future alone can show whether they were in error, whether they misunderstood the notion of popular happiness: enemies of the nation, however, such an error could not render them.* No notion is more relative to the individual

* The allusion to this conviction of the Emperor Francis, has brought upon this work the suspicion of reactionary tendencies, though it has pronounced no opinion upon the soundness or error of that conviction. Whether the views of the Emperor Francis and of his successor were correct or otherwise, experience alone will show. It would be premature to found a definitive sentence concerning them upon the events which have hitherto transpired. In the course of the year 1848, painful apprehensions could not but be excited in the breast of every Austrian as to the soundness of the convictions which the Emperor Francis entertained. Everything was out of joint; the Imperial Diet had only uttered what tended to destruction and disorganization; even the conservative party in it maintained its name only by its efforts to preserve the monarchical principle and social order, whilst it did not exert itself to keep up the union between those races, which constitute the empire, and the entire dissolution of that union was only averted in 1848 and 1849, by a resort to the most absolute of all powers, the force of arms. The veil of the future still conceals what will again be attempted, when the so-called exceptional state of things will have to make way for the true constitutional system in various parts of the empire. When each citizen of the empire, though the first words, which by a mother's teaching, he has been able to stammer forth, may have belonged to the German, Magyar, Wallachian, Italian, or some Sclavonic language—when he, after the example of the citizens of the United Kingdom on the other side of the English Channel (who, in spite of

than that of happiness. What one person considers as happiness, another regards as misfortune. The tranquil fisherman, who, after successful casts of his net, steers his smoothly-gliding bark, laden with rich spoil, to his native shore, considers it happiness, if the undisturbed sea allows his boat freely to obey the rudder; whilst the bold sailor, on the contrary, who at the same time impatiently awaits in the harbour the moment for his departure, in order speedily to reach a distant coast, considers it a misfortune if a fresh gale does not spring up to impel the waves in the direction of his course, which, tossing his vessel on the foaming billows, may bear it, with expanded sail and redoubled speed, to its wished-for destination. The Emperor of Austria and his council resembled the fisherman,—the popular leaders were like the sailor; but can this difference in intention afford a reason for suspecting the designs of the former, or loading their names with contumely? One may expose error without abusing the individual who errs, as unfortunately has occurred, and may again happen. With difficulty was the statue of the Emperor Francis, in the square of Vienna, pro-

being Scotch, Irish, or English, exult in the common name of Britons), shall feel himself most honoured by the name of "citizen of Austria," and by the exclamation of "Hail Austria," shall be enflamed to patriotic enthusiasm, like the Briton by his "Rule Britannia:" when respect for the law, and the consciousness of a duty to see it enforced, even at the sacrifice of self, shall have gained undisputed possession of the heart of every citizen of Austria, when there shall be no difference of opinion with the government of the time being as to whether there should be a great, powerful, and united Austria, but only as regards the ways and means to maintain and secure its grandeur, its power, and its unity,—when the *Magna Charta* of his liberties, and the *Habeas Corpus* Act, shall not be used by the Austrian as a bulwark behind which the distrust of the people against the intentions of the government shall intrench itself, but they shall rather serve as a guarantee of confidence between the governing and the governed; when all these conditions shall have been fulfilled, it will be shown to have been an error to suppose that the existence of the Austrian Empire was fundamentally based upon the principle of pure monarchy.

tected from the fury of a fanatical mob. The bones of the emperor were to have been torn from their resting-place, and exposed upon the ramparts of Vienna to the bullets of the imperial troops, who were struggling with the insurrection.

The minister* whose name this system of government bore, because he held the portfolio of foreign affairs from the year 1809, and who was obliged to be the representative before the world of this system of the emperor, agreeing as it did with his own innermost conviction, became an object of general hatred and calumny. To his colleague,† who, from the year 1826, assisted him in piloting the vessel of Austria, was attributed the gross injustice of asserting, that he was hostile to this system, and yet maintained a post in which he contributed to its support; conduct which in an honourable, independent statesman would have been a moral impossibility. In particular cases, there must necessarily have existed differences of opinion between two statesmen, one of whom pursued his course abroad, with his attention directed chiefly to Europe, whilst the other confined his observation to the interior of the empire, and so attained the highest eminence in the state, including a nomination to the supreme council,—differences respecting the application of state maxims,—but to neither of them should it be imputed as a reproach that he subjected his own individual sentiments in such cases to the opinion of the absolute sovereign; but as to condemning the system of government, it cannot be conceived possible that a statesman would keep his place where his principles could not be reduced to practice, unless he had to expect on his retirement, that the silken bow-string would be forwarded to him by an exasperated sultan.

We have given our opinion so freely respecting the state

* Prince Metternich.—Ed. † Count Kolowrath.—Ed.

machinery and system of government of Austria, that we believe we may, without subjecting ourselves to the charge of reactionary tendencies, venture, as unprejudiced and independent spectators, in opposition to exaggeration and misrepresentation, to speak the truth, even though it should be in favour of the government as it existed before March.

The preservation of peace in Europe for a period of thirty-three years, to which it cannot be denied that Austria contributed a decisive assistance, ought to have some favourable influence upon the friends of the people, who exhausted themselves in denunciations against the chief Austrian statesmen previous to March.

The credit which the Austrian exchequer enjoyed throughout Europe previous to March, in spite of the difficulties it had to contend with, of which the interest on Vienna bank-notes, and the high course of exchange upon government bills up to March, 1848, affords a proof, will serve to show that the Argus-eyes of the European moneyed powers, which could not surely overlook the government in Austria, found nevertheless no reason for suspecting that a state bankruptcy was about to occur.

The security which person, honour, and property enjoyed in Austria, may afford a proof that Themis, even though the old government clung to her, had made proper use of her scales and sword.

Mercury, during the time of the old government, could scarcely have been less favourable to Austrian commerce than he has shown himself since its abdication.

Mars and Bellona have, in truth, since the fall of the old government, again restored to the Austrian army that high fame which had made her warriors, during many years, the object of universal honour and admiration; but this army was not called suddenly from the earth by a stamp of the foot

on the part of those who exercised power subsequent to March; the education of the army, the spirit which influenced it, its organization, which in the moment of necessity rendered its increase and full development a possibility, were the work of many years' exertions, during the epoch of the old government. If, however, we must thankfully acknowledge the destruction of the old government as an improvement, let us not inconsiderately condemn an age and a race of men who could not enjoy this improvement, as thousands have condemned them since the days of March, and amongst whom are many who, under that very government, gradually rose to the highest posts of office and honour, without ever giving expression to their discontent. The Austrian government, as it existed before March, is often subjected to the reproach of having lagged behind other governments in the race of improvement, because it could not decide how it should step forward. But let those who, with the bitterest feelings, indulge in this reproach, ask their own consciences whether they have not themselves given cause for such indecision. An improvement, for example, is inconceivable without a change of situation; but when, before the days of March, some comfortable post was destined to be abolished in consequence of an improvement intended by the government, its possessors had recourse to every means in their power to enable them to retain it. It was part of the paternal character of the government to lend an ear to those who apprehended injury from the abolition of the post which they enjoyed; and thus, many an important reform split upon this rock. Was it not, for example, the cry of terror raised by a few of the manufacturing classes that, a few years ago, prevented the change* projected by the govern-

* This change has been carried into effect by Prince Schwarzenberg's administration.

ment from a prohibitive to a protective system of customs? Who threw obstacles in the way of a more rapid improvement in the plan introduced to effect a general engineering survey of the country, by curtailing the pecuniary grant which, from the beginning, had been annually dedicated to that purpose? Who prevented the proportionate taxation of home-manufactured sugar determined upon many years before, with respect to which branch of industry the English, who were fully qualified to form an opinion in this respect, considered that the loss which the state finances would thereby suffer in the duty on cane-sugar, was nothing else but a source of profit to the producer? Who delayed, by refusing to introduce the conscription, and to abolish the privilege of the nobility on the subject of bearing arms, the introduction of a timely law of recruiting? Would no impediments have been offered to a compulsory removal of the burdens pressing on the land and soil, if the government had proposed it, by those who were in perpetual conflict with the government authorities, for seeming to show more partiality to the villein, than to the freeholder of the soil, or by those who, shortly before the eventful year 1848, had proposed to the government, for the greater protection of the right of shooting, to forbid the sale of a hare, or a partridge, or any other game, unless the seller was qualified with a previous license? How would an equal toleration of all religions in the eye of the government have been received by those provincial authorities, who, in one province,* on the ground of ancient privileges, had required and obtained the banishment of numerous families natives of the soil, because, forsooth, they did not live in the bosom of the Catholic Church; whilst, in another province, the costly gift of a foreigner, who

* In the Ziller-Thal, where before the charter of March 4, 1849, the Roman Catholic Church was exclusively dominant.—ED.

was allowed by the government to purchase land, and which he, from motives of gratitude, had dedicated to a generally useful and long-desired object, was rejected, because the generous donor was a Jew! And with regard to the freedom of the press, we venture to ask whether many of those who, as friends of literature and art, complained the loudest and the boldest on the subject of the censorship, as it existed before March, against reviews of a pamphlet or a play, did not feel themselves aggrieved by the lukewarm censorship exercised by their own officials, when their individual vanity or interests were thereby aggrieved? The president of the police may answer this question by a reference to his proceedings.

Though it may betoken irresolution and weakness on the part of the Austrian government before the month of March, deplorable and highly deserving of censure, that she suffered herself to be impeded in her progress by such a host of petty obstacles, it ill becomes those who have derived advantage from such irresolution and weakness to stand forward now, as the bitterest accusers of that government, and seek to proscribe its supporters, because less progress was made than the spirit of the age demanded, less than has been undertaken since the days of March, when those opposing obstacles were removed. The powers, the ministry, and Diet which succeeded it, have not put a stop to the former "vis inertiæ," nor the activity of former selfishness, since those who, before the events of March, raised their voices loudest against every change in their situation, were afterwards silenced, and bore with resignation whatever happened to them. Till the dissolution of the Diet, the activity of the new authorities was particularly devoted to the work of demolition; the rebuilding came afterwards. Upon that task the present government is actively engaged.

No town council, no aristocratical or clerical influence, no imperial cabinet, no council of state, and, at the present moment, no parliament, or diet, comes with its obstacles and delays in the way.* The officers under the ministry must yield unconditional obedience to its commands, since he who cannot or will not instantly obey, is now immediately replaced by another.† No regard to the maintenance of the paternal character of the government, as it existed before March, can impede the exercise of its full powers. Paternal affection can never be the attribute of a constitutional government, whose authorities are responsible for their conduct, not to a warm-hearted and feeling ruler, but to the uncertain majority of a sharply-scrutinizing parliament. Thus, the existing ministry is likely to complete with despatch the building which it has commenced. May it be so adapted to the wants of the country, and so durable, that future Diets may not be able to overturn, but may have it in their power to complete it. The architect of the present age may achieve greater works than his predecessors, since, in reconstructing the edifice of the state, he is not trammelled by all those considerations which must formerly have been noticed, even in slight alterations. Whoever

* Those words, written in the month of August, 1849, remain true in August, 1850. Ministerial propositions, *examined by the ministers only*, are from henceforth in great number, and in rapid succession transformed into legislative acts, in the shape of decrees or provisional laws. On the 1st of the month above mentioned, already 308 numbers of "The Government and Imperial Law Journal" (Reichsgesetz und Regierungsblatt) were filled with those decrees. Such an astonishing activity on the part of the ministers had never been anticipated.

† It is on this account that we see at present government officials, and those who are under their influence, bow down in a more respectful manner before the responsible and constitutional ministers and their deputies. It likewise supplies the reason why we see ministers express their satisfaction with subordinate authorities by cabinet letters in the public journals, in a manner which previously used to be exclusively adopted by the absolute emperor only.

possesses a house which, although old, is habitable, will certainly not decide upon a change in the building, without first well examining if the firm connection of the other parts may not, perhaps, be endangered by the alteration, and whether substantial means are forthcoming for the completion of the building. But whoever sees his house destroyed by an earthquake, does not consider about the most convenient mode of rebuilding it, but provides the means of doing so, at any price, even by issuing securities, which may absorb part of the future rent. So it happened now in re-constructing the demolished edifice of the state in Austria. Many of the changes adopted at present were previously contemplated, and were only delayed because the means for that purpose were not forthcoming. The suppression of hereditary courts of justice, the establishment of a gendarmerie, the alterations in prisons, and houses of correction, the improving the condition of the instructors of youth, the extinction of villeinage, and other changes, were admitted, and encouraged by previous statesmen of the old government, as consistent with well-recognized theories; but the millions of florins which were annually required for the existing necessities of the state, were wanting to carry out these changes, and as experience proved that an alteration which materially concerns the state, is sure at some time to be effected, they were unwilling to oppress the present or future tax-payers with new burdens for these improvements.* But the people, who since that time have

* We may judge of the amount of these expenses from several data which have become public. The administration of justice, which, up to 1848, claimed about 2½ millions of florins from the State treasury, required 12 millions in 1850. The four ministerial departments, the attributes of which were formerly comprised in the Court-Chancery, the Court-Commission of Studies, the Police, and the Court-Censorship, and which usually figured in the State budget under the head of "Political funds and establishments," with an expenditure of about 16½ millions of florins, and under the head of "Police," with 2½ millions of

attained a partnership in the sovereignty, have misunderstood this unwillingness ; they have torn down the old state edifice,

florins, consequently with an annual total expenditure of 18½ millions : these four ministerial departments, viz. that of the Interior, that of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction, that of Commerce, Industry, and Public Buildings, and that of Agriculture, have in the first quarter of 1850 absorbed already 9,112,692 florins. Accordingly, the total expenditure of the current year may rise to 36 millions of florins, which will be almost double that of former years. The national debt, which up to 1848, entailed an annual charge of about 49 millions of florins, has cost the nation in the first quarter of 1850 already 13,960,618 florins ; the expense for the whole year will consequently rise to 56 millions. The army will cause the most considerable increase of expenditure in the budget of the constitutional empire. The amount required for its support during the time of the absolute monarchy, notwithstanding the preparations for war against France in 1841, and the reinforcements sent into Lombardy, never exceeded 55 millions in any year, but according to the results of the first quarter, its cost will amount, in 1850, to 125 millions. There is a probability of a diminution in this sum of about four millions, if the fratricidal dispute in federal or confederate Germany, as to German unity, should be adjusted without the roar of cannon. The expenses, however, of the army will not, and cannot be reduced again to their ancient limits, as they existed before March ; for to Austria the words now apply which the deputy to the Spanish Cortes at Madrid, Donoso Cortes, Marquis de Valdegamos, uttered during the discussion on the budget, on July 30, 1850, when he declared himself against the reduction of the army, viz. "*That in our days the armies alone prevent civilization from being dried up in the bottomless sands of barbarism, inasmuch as the world has now before its eyes the strange phenomenon of the force of ideas leading to barbarism, and the force of arms pressing forward to civilization.*" Thus greatly augmented expenses demand larger contributions on the part of the free citizens to cover them. The land-tax has already been raised about one-third, the tax on houses about the same ; the stamp duty has equally been augmented. There has also been imposed a new income-tax, and a new duty of 3½ per cent. of the value upon the transfer of immovable property. We do not refer to these fresh burdens with the intent of loading the present ministry with reproach ; there is no blame attached to them : those burdens are the inevitable results, although they are not yet fully developed, of what was acquired for the people in the year 1848, both by their self-styled and by their duly elected representatives. The ministers even spared the fathers in some degree by raising credit, for which the sons and grandsons will have to be answerable. They resorted, for instance, to paper money, to assignments on the revenues, to assignments on the central chest, to Exchequer-bills, to State loans, and to the capitalization of interest. It is right and equitable that the next generation should not be established in the enjoyment of their gains, without having cause

and thereby imposed upon themselves the task of bearing the expense of erecting another building adapted to the wants of the age. Their noble profusion may excite astonishment; the anxiety of the present architect of the state to avail himself of such extravagance may be approved, and the timidity of his predecessors be lamented, but no ground is thereby furnished for detesting and depreciating those, who evinced more solicitude for the taxation of the people,

to remember the distress of the present generation. The free communes, which are the basis of a free state, claim, like it, sacrifices which were previously not at all required, or only to a small extent. The two spheres of activity for the communes, marked out by the communal law of the 17th of March, 1849, viz. the *natural one and that conferred upon them*, comprise so many functions, with which government or patrimonial officials were formerly charged, that their management will entail less of time, labour, and money on the part of the members of the communes.

Besides the burdens of the free communes, the citizen of a free state has, in addition, the personal obligation to act as an elector, as a national guardsman, as a member of the communal council, and as a sworn juryman: services which not only deprive him of his time—to millions as valuable as money—but which were previously unknown to him, and were attended to by soldiers, officials, and courts of justice, which received their remuneration from the state. The people's coming of age, in 1848, has consequently been bought at a very high price. We trust that it may be to the nation a source of happiness and prosperity. In Vienna and in Prague, where, in 1848, the loudest declamations were uttered against the guardianship of the government, there does not appear to have been any great rejoicings in respect of their lately acquired rights; if the zeal, with which those rights are exercised, is to be regarded as a measure of it. At Vienna, both the press and the government had to muster all their strength in order, at last, to induce 6,217 persons, out of the large number of citizens, to inscribe their names in the electoral lists. The president of the college of the constituency of the city of Prague was, on the 17th of June, 1850, obliged to declare, "that the neglect of the city constituency in regard to their duty of attending at the sessions, would compel him for the future to publish the names of the absent members, especially as there were several members who had never yet been present." We would, under these circumstances, venture to ask the question, whether the ministers who were in power before the month of March in Austria, might not merit a bill of indemnity as regards the charge made against them of not having, of their own accord, granted to the people those rights which the latter have acquired at so high a price, and with such few reasons, apparently, of rejoicing at the result.

than seems to actuate the people themselves. Their intentions were good, their conduct was in accordance with their intentions, but unfortunately secured no approbation, because the views of the people were not in unison with their own.

The people may now rejoice that their views are carried out, but should hesitate to sully the purity of their joy, by unjust reflections upon those who, under different circumstances, were compelled to adopt a different line of conduct.

We beg the reader will attribute no other object to these remarks, than a wish to dissipate his prejudices respecting the Austrian statesmen during the time of absolute monarchy, and by this means enable him to form a correct opinion of them.

COMMOTIONS PREVIOUS TO MARCH, 1848.

The introduction of moderate reforms was confidently expected on the accession of the Emperor Ferdinand; their postponement increased the discontent which already existed; at the same time the want of that determined will and experienced hand which belonged to the old emperor was clearly perceptible. The feelings of discontent were uttered in louder tones than heretofore, and paved the way to disturbances which gradually increased in all parts of the monarchy, emanating from the higher and middle classes of society, and finding acceptance amongst the lower orders of the people, in consequence of the pressure of the taxes, and more particularly of two measures of finance, namely, the tax* upon articles of food and drink, and the stamp act, which appeared in the year 1840, and whose provisions were advantageous to the rich.

These commotions resolve themselves into two great

* Verzehrungsteuer, a tax corresponding to the octroi in France, levied at the gates of towns upon all articles of food and drink.—ED.

classes, namely, those of which the principal aim was to effect an absolute separation from the empire, and those which contemplated the extension and establishment of the right of the people to participate in the government. The struggle after national supremacy was common to both.

The commotions in the Polish and Italian parts of the empire belong to the first class; the commotions in Hungary and Transylvania, as also in Bohemia and Moravia, and the German provinces, belong to the second.

In order thoroughly to understand the events which occurred after March, 1848, it must be particularly kept in mind, that the high or privileged classes of the people completely agreed with the intelligent middle classes in one chief point, namely, in their aversion to the system of government, and their mistrust in the efficiency of the state machine, as well as in their wish to alter both; but in all further views they were diametrically opposed to each other. The first class, for example, wished, upon the ruins of the existing edifice, to erect a building in which they might occupy the best and most convenient apartments, and graciously leave to the others the occupation of the attics and the garrets. The other class wished, on the contrary, to complete a building, in which all apartments should be alike, but in which they should leave no room for the first class. Both these parties exerted themselves together to tear down the existing edifice, with the intention, when the time should come for reconstruction, of claiming the building-ground for themselves. Hence the apparent harmony in the work of destruction until the days of March, and the subsequent disunion.

Besides this general difference in the motive, there existed in the several parts of the empire the essential difference in the object in view, which has been above alluded to.

The tendency to insurrection was first embodied in action in the Polish parts of Austria, namely, in Galicia, in the winter of the year 1846. But the disturbances there originated from another source, and had another object than those which took place in the other parts of the empire ; they sprang from recollections of the ancient kingdom of Poland, and they contemplated its restoration ; the spirit which actuated them was not democratic, since their object was not to elevate the people to a participation in the government, but to establish a Polish dominion in place of the Austrian, which latter was to be suppressed. For this reason, its authors did not succeed in seducing the people ; but the latter crushed the revolution in its birth. It is very remarkable that the government was taken by surprise and unprepared, although the civil and military chief of the province had held the reins of government in his hands for fourteen years, and was an archduke of the house of Este, a family of whom it cannot be said that it is not quick in spying out revolutionary tendencies. The key to this difficulty may be found in the fact, that the archduke directed his attention more to the movements of the poor and inconsiderable democrats, and was not a match for the hypocrisy of the deceitful and treacherous Polish aristocracy, by whom he was ensnared.* This revolution, so soon subdued, might have

* The editor of the "Historische Blätter, by G. Philipps and G. Görres," remarks on this head, at page 26 of the first number for 1850, "that, according to the evidence of other well-informed judges of those affairs, the archduke was not only far from being "*ensnared,*" but, on the contrary, was fully aware of the hypocrisy and deception of the revolutionary Polish nobles ; that he had, however, imagined them to be unwilling heedlessly to bring about their own certain ruin, at their own risk and expense, considering the well-known dispositions of the peasantry." We shall not raise a dispute as to the fact, whether the Governor-general of Galicia was taken by surprise by the revolt in 1846, because the Polish nobles had "*ensnared*" him, or rather because his confidence in their discretion had deceived him. The error was equal

furnished a wholesome warning to the Austrian government against similar surprises, but unfortunately it only regarded the favourable side of the transaction, namely, the assistance which it received from the people; it considered this as the necessary result of the paternal system adopted by it, and it was strengthened in the delusion that this system would everywhere, even beyond the limits of Poland, enlist the sympathy and support of the people, without reflecting that the sympathy of the Galician peasantry arose chiefly from their antipathy to their Polish landlords, and from the recollection, by no means remote, of the intolerable oppression which they had been forced to endure under the dominion of a Polish aristocracy.

In Austrian Italy the commotions before March had a similar object as in Austrian Poland, since they were intended to effect a separation from the empire. But the important difference between them consisted in this, that the Poles had a fixed object in view, to which their struggles were directed,—the re-establishment of the ancient kingdom of Poland, whilst the Italians only had before their eyes a something of which they disapproved, namely, the Austrian dominion, which was rather irritating to them by its petty goadings, and wearisome by its tedious forms, than oppressive to their nationality, or regardless of their

in either case as regards his discrimination of their sentiments. This is also the very reason why we do not concede to the editor of the "Historische Blatter" the right of ascribing our remarks upon the conduct of the Archduke to the offence which "*his profound Catholic convictions had, as was to be expected, at all times occasioned to the ruling officials, who propagated the principles and doctrines of Voltaire.*" We believe, however, that these Catholic convictions could have no connection whatever with either of the two mistakes; and we equally believe that those errors do not, in the slightest degree, darken the lustre of the archduke's noble character, or lessen the acknowledgment of the meritorious services which that prince of the imperial house has on so many occasions rendered to the throne and to the state.

substantial interests. Hence it happened that whilst the Poles sought to attain their object by deeds, the Italians evinced their disapprobation like children or women, by pouting, teasing, and abusing their masters, without the probability of ever coming to blows, if the apparent dissension between the Pope and Austria, respecting the transaction at Ferrara, and afterwards the ambition of the King of Sardinia, but more particularly the revival of the republic in France, had not awakened in them the hope of attaining this great end with little trouble.

The strengthening of the Austrian garrison at Ferrara, undertaken in the year 1847, with military ostentation, was the result of a wish, which could not be misunderstood, to oppose a barrier to the disturbances likely to prove injurious to Austrian Italy, and which had been excited against the existing order of things by the fugitives who had been unwisely pardoned *en masse* by the Pope, and had returned to the States of the Church. This proceeding was quite lawful for Austria, and was only the repetition of what had taken place under the previous Pope, Gregory XVI., and had been acknowledged by him with thanks.

But the commander in Lombardy committed the anachronism of forgetting that in 1847 a different head wore the tiara, and that this head was influenced by different opinions. But the cabinet of Vienna cannot be blamed for this anachronism, for it first became acquainted with the fact when accomplished, and it was obliged, therefore, to assert its own legal rights. For the movement party, the protestation of the Papal government was a powerful weapon against Austria, since it afforded an ostensible ground to preach a crusade against the alleged enemies of the Church, in which course they were zealously assisted by the Italian priesthood, who are, for the most part, an ignorant body,

and who do not esteem the Germans to be genuine Catholics. By this course the movement party, who belonged to the middle and higher orders of society, obtained a support from the lower classes which they had previously wanted; for in Italy, as elsewhere, the people who depended upon their own labour for support, were not disposed in favour of political strife, unless connected with their own personal interests, whether founded on prospective physical advantages, or on considerations of spiritual welfare, for which latter the Italian people (after their own fashion, by a display of outward religious practices) seem more anxious than the inhabitants of Germany. Moreover, the hope of expiating a multitude of sins by a manifestation of hatred against the German enemies of the Church produced a great effect upon the lower orders, particularly as a distribution of money, or other favours, was adopted by the rich, to connect their temporal with their eternal interests. The demonstrations against the Austrians, which had formerly been evinced by a few individuals only, and with great timidity, increased in both number and boldness. The police authorities, for preventing and repressing such excesses, were powerless against such a multitude of malcontents; they were forced to limit their activity to the detection of the ringleaders; but even in such efforts they were not fully successful, since their sub-officials lent them but indifferent aid. The measures which they employed failed in their object, and operated like goads, which provoke without destroying an antagonist. The course of events now assumed such an aspect, that it was easy to see the Austrian authority could be maintained by nothing else than military force. For this purpose the army in Italy was continually increased with great sacrifices on the part of the straitened

exchequer.* It seems that those who conducted the measures of defence were but ill read in Italian history, which

* The commander in Italy had, in December, 1847, 55,000 men and 5,600 horses at his disposal. The emperor ordered forthwith, in the same month, the Italian army to be increased by 9,800 men, and, in case of any greater emergency, further by 13,000 men and 1,000 horses; he ordered, likewise, the division of the troops into two army-corps, of which the first, in Lombardy, was to be composed of 29 moveable battalions, 22 squadrons, and 66 field-pieces, and 4 stationary battalions; and the second, in the Venetian territory, of 17 moveable battalions, 14 squadrons, and 42 field-pieces, and of 7 stationary battalions. The emperor assigned to the Italian army, in the course of January, 1848, a fresh reinforcement of 9,000 men, with 2 batteries; it was thus raised to 85,000 men, to which, in February, 2 battalions of infantry, 6 squadrons, and 2 batteries were further added. The expense incurred by these reinforcements increased the army-budget of that year by 5,000,000 of florins; and though an attack on the part of the King of Sardinia was at that time hardly credible, the new burden was nevertheless not shunned, for the sake of maintaining peace in the interior of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The greatest part of the Austrian forces in that kingdom consisted of Italian troops; but almost up to the very commencement of the revolution their loyalty had not only not been doubted, but every allusion to such doubts—which are said not to have been wanting in the cabinet—was looked upon as a violation of military honour. This prejudice was so extensively prevalent, that even in the month of February, when martial law against high treason and rebellion was proclaimed in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, and the military were made subject to it, this latter circumstance was even in the highest circles of Vienna looked upon with displeasure, as an attack upon the honour of the soldier, although the field-marshal himself had consented to the measure. The subsequent perfidy of so many Italian battalions has furnished a sad proof of its having been adopted with good reason.

Our allusion to this circumstance has been provoked by an attempt on the part of several persons to construe the remarks of "Genesis," on the rapid loss of the Italian provinces, as evincing ingratitude for the services of the grey-headed and victorious general. They were not, however, made in that sense. Radetzky's glory springs from the masterly discipline he knew how to give to his troops—from the prudence with which, when the catastrophe had burst forth, he knew how to preserve them for future victories—from the foresight with which he waited for the opportunity for those victories,—and finally from the valour by which he gained them. It was perfectly true, as he said at the time of evacuating Lombardy, "*Milan has been lost at Vienna,*"—for the events of Vienna caused both the rising of the

teaches that there the towns have ever controlled the provinces, and that, therefore, whoever is master of the former can govern the latter, since, but for this ignorance, they would have found means in the troops which they commanded, and in their munitions of war, to enable the garrisons of the large towns to strike a blow against their imperfectly armed antagonists, and defy a people who were so little experienced in military affairs. It would not then have occurred, that, beginning with Milan, all the towns, except Mantua and Verona, were evacuated by the imperial troops in the space of a week, without an attempt being made at bombardment, the most efficient means, as is universally admitted, of reducing insurrections in towns. Even during the contest in Milan, which lasted for several days, field-pieces alone and no shells were employed, although the towers of the citadel completely commanded the town; indeed, it has been observed that the citadel was wholly unprovided with shells. This remarkable circumstance may have resulted from the timid character of the Austrian government; and, paradoxical as it may sound, we cannot doubt the fact, when we reflect that in the government there existed an actual fear of the apprehension of danger; and therefore it was that, notwithstanding the daily increasing tumult and daring conspiracy—*fronderie*, as it may be termed (and German purists will excuse the foreign idiom, as no German word can so completely express the idea),—the government neglected to take timely and proper measures for enabling the garri-

Milanese and the King of Sardinia's violation of the law of nations by the assistance which that king gave to the rebels. Grand and prophetic were the first words he pronounced, after his arrival at Verona, —"*Nothing as yet is lost.*" We rejoice at his fame, but we feel also, as impartial observers, called upon to combat that erroneous opinion, which accuses the men who were in possession of the reins of government at Vienna before March, as having caused the first disasters of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom by a denial of the necessary means of defence.

sons of the towns to defend them effectually against the mob, because they were afraid of evincing their fear of insurrection by precautionary measures, which it was impossible to conceal.

If this was indeed the cause of the incomplete measures of defence, we must observe with Horace,—"In vitium ducit culpæ fuga, si caret arte." Since, how great soever may be the fault of a government, when, by a premature display of military power, it betrays a mistrust of its subjects who are but partially excited, it cannot be imprudent to exhibit its full preparations to a people who, by provocations and continued abuse of the authorities, have long evinced their decided intention to overturn the government, thereby provoking the preventive and restrictive operations of police measures, and even the summary proceedings of military law, to suppress their political intrigues. The most unfortunate event, however, which could have occurred, happened in Milan, on the 3rd of January, 1848 : a few hundred soldiers, whom the disturbers of the public peace would not allow to smoke cigars, acting under the conviction that they would fail to receive protection from the authorities against the anger of the people, sought to procure justice for themselves by the aid of their weapons, and, in blind revenge, cut down the innocent with the guilty. This unfortunate act of self-defence aided the enemies of the Austrian government to excite the people to mad tumult, and they knew how to take advantage of this accidental circumstance, and for the same purpose they had recourse to another expedient. They influenced the deputy of the Milan Central Congregation, Nazzari, to lay a petition before that body, which was instituted by the Emperor Francis for the representation of the landed interests, in which petition the grievances of the country were detailed and its wishes expressed. This

example was immediately imitated in Venice, and in the provincial assemblies, as well as in many municipalities, and by such means a universal commotion was excited. Such was the object of a step made under the pretence of loyalty. It would have been a serious mistake to believe that, even if this step had had a favourable result, the position of the Austrian government would have been improved in the eyes of the people, since the point in dispute was not the improvement of their condition under an Austrian government, but their actual separation from it: every concession, therefore, would have been misused, in order to strengthen their means of opposing Austria. This was not suspected by the Austrian officials in the country, since they advised an immediate compliance with the popular demands, though it was at once perceived by the central authority in Vienna, who, in consequence of this conviction, and from an apprehension of the effects which concessions in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom might produce upon the other portions of the empire, refused to recede from its customary cautious course, and declined to give a decisive answer. That the plans of the Lombardo-Venetians were completely penetrated, is now proved by the public admission of one of the most intelligent of the Milan insurgents, Carl Cattaneo, who, in his work, published in Paris, entitled "L'Insurrection de Milan en 1848," page 18, observes: "Les banquiers de Vienne insistaient déjà auprès du Conseil Aulique (under which expression the Italians meant the central government, whose construction they never clearly understood), sur la nécessité d'en venir avec nous à des transactions. Nous serions devenus libres par des franchises, et le conflit le serait engagé à propos d'une innovation quelconque dans l'impôt." And again, page 38: "Le moment était favorable pour mettre en état d'agir en frères d'armes de cette féderation Italienne, à la-

quelle la communauté des interêts nous conduisait naturellement." From the acuteness of the Italians, especially of the Lombards, we cannot believe that they had attached much hope of success to this pretended loyal proceeding of their assemblies, since they knew too well the character of the Austrian government not to perceive, that the accordance of the important concessions to which they laid claim would not take place either quickly or easily. But the refusal or delay of the same they foresaw would be useful for their purpose, since it would afford new grounds of complaint against the government, and new materials for exciting the people.

Whilst in the north-east and south-west parts of the empire these commotions took place, with the object of effecting a separation, the other parts of the empire were not quiet. In these latter, however, the object in view was only the extension or recovery of old privileges, an increase of influence over the provincial administration, combined with a diminished degree of dependence upon the court officers of Vienna, and the resuscitation of their nationality.

The character of these commotions was more or less decisive, according to the particular circumstances of the different countries, two of which, namely, Hungary and Transylvania, were in full possession of a long-established constitution of Estates, which secured to them an active share in the government; others, however, in consequence of the events of the seventeenth century, possessed representative Estates, with certain privileges, but without exercising, by right, any decisive influence upon the legislation; and others again, after their restoration in 1814, had been allowed representative bodies, with a very limited sphere of action. Some, as Salzburg, Vorarlberg, Goritz, Istria, and Dalmatia, had not yet received such a privilege. The greater or less

importance of the insurrection against the government was in proportion to the weight which was possessed by these provincial estates, or by the aristocracy, who always considered themselves bound to throw down the gauntlet to the so-termed bureaucracy, arising partly from the extent of the privileges they possessed, and partly from their connection with members of the central government.

The movement was most threatening in Hungary; its special object was to extend the municipal rights of the counties, and to increase the influence of the diet, with the view of crippling the power of the king in the administration of the executive authority, which had hitherto been most carefully preserved, and at the same time to extend and establish the supremacy of the Magyars over the other races inhabiting the country.

Up to the year 1848 its tendencies were by no means of a democratic character. The privileged classes coquetted with the people in order to win their sympathy and to deprive the throne of the support it found in their dependence, but they never contemplated sharing their privileges with the people; on the contrary, they endeavoured, under the old system of Estates which was the essence of the Hungarian constitution, to imitate the parliamentary language of those limited monarchies where a representative system existed, since, by this confusion of phrases, they had more room for their intrigues; in particular they endeavoured, and not without some success, to establish the fiction that at the side of their irresponsible king, who was carefully and positively protected by law from all impeachment, there should exist a separate administration, which, in consequence of this separate existence, they might with impunity, in the congregations of the counties, and the sittings of the diet, and even elsewhere, mistrust, abuse, and even degrade. The

organs of the king hesitated at first to oppose this faction, which, in discharge of their duty, they ought to have done, because a separation of the sovereign from the government can only be tolerated in those states where a ministry, responsible to the nation, stands in such a relation to the sovereign, that the latter can give validity to no act of government without the warrant of his minister. But in the Hungarian constitution a maxim of the very opposite nature prevailed. According to this maxim, there was no ministry, but only a royal chancellorship, appointed for the purpose of giving effect to the royal decrees, which should thus issue with the royal signature. How strictly this maxim was observed, even to the latest period, may be proved by the well-known circumstance, that even transactions such as a private gentleman, living in Vienna, was accustomed to intrust to his agent in Hungary, required to be confirmed by the king's sign manual before they were recognized by the Hungarian officials.

The distinction artfully introduced between the king and his government was eagerly and cleverly taken advantage of by the movement party to dispute the royal commands, under the pretence that they were not the expression of his will, but the work of his ministry, hoping thereby to loosen the reins of legitimate authority. Every Hungarian diet ended by abridging the royal privileges, and the opposition never failed to assume a bolder attitude against the government under the warmest assertions of their respect and devotion to the person of the king. The prorogued diet of the years 1843-44 exhibited, in two occurrences, important symptoms of the increasing discontent. The first took place immediately upon its opening : a law affecting religion, proposed by the king, was rejected by the Diet without observing the customary forms of deliberation, and without the deputies having

received the usual instructions from their counties. The second consisted in the fact that the deputies of the adjoining provinces were impeded in the use of the Latin language, which, according to the rules of the constitution, was employed in the debates. A dissolution of the Diet by the king would have been a bold step, which, if properly followed up, would probably have checked the threatened evil; this step, however, was not taken, because the ruler of Hungary, like a man who, when attacked, delays to discharge his pistol for fear of the report, wished to avoid the excitement which such a step would have excited at home and abroad. The privileges of the adjoining provinces were sacrificed by the introduction of a law which obliged the deputies of the Hungarian diet, after a period of six years, to use the Magyar language, an unknown and detested tongue, in place of the Latin language, which they spoke fluently, and in which, according to the constitution, all their proceedings had been hitherto carried on. From this time the hostility between the Slavonic race and the Magyars increased from day to day, and in Croatia often led to bloody contests. In the Hungarian counties the revolutionary party, which, in the technical language of the representative system, termed itself the Opposition, became still bolder. The Obergespanns and the Administrators of Counties, the only persons appointed by the crown, were accustomed to consider their honours as sinecures, and to leave their business to be transacted by a temporary substitute called a Vice-gespan, who was chosen by the Estates of each county, and seldom had the will or the power and necessary authority to insure obedience to the laws and commands of the king. It thus necessarily occurred that every county, under the pretence of maintaining its own authority, degenerated into a sort of republic, which usurped that share in the legislation which

properly belonged to the diet, since in the county assemblies the questions to be proposed for the consideration of the two legislative tables were previously discussed, resolutions adopted, and the charge of these resolutions committed to the deputies of the counties as a duty, which obligation the deputies felt themselves obliged strictly to discharge, as their electors possessed the power of recalling them during the sitting of the Diet, and of naming others in their places. This authority of the counties, which crippled the operations of the diet, was no part of the original constitution; like many other abuses, it crept in surreptitiously, and became at last sanctioned by custom. To bring the counties to order there was no other plan for the government than to bring back the office of the Obergespanns and the Administrators to their original duties, and to insist that those officials should reside in the counties with which they were intrusted, and should preside as chairmen in the transaction of all administrative business as well as in judicial proceedings (sedrien). It was evident that many of these, on account of other offices which they filled, or of their own private circumstances, could not reside within the circle of their duties, and could not therefore fulfil the intentions of government. In addition, the pecuniary sacrifices which their offices entailed, were not recompensed by the small remuneration which they received from the country, and therefore the government was obliged, out of its own resources, to provide for them the large yearly salary of 5,000 or 6,000 florins, stipulating that those who filled another office should vacate it. This restoration of the office of obergespann and of the administrators of counties to their original intention was called the "Appony system," although the measure was actually adopted in the diet of the year 1844, before Appony

was appointed to the Hungarian court chancellorship; but inasmuch as he had to complete the measure, in general opinion he was considered its author, and on this account was hated and violently attacked, because the movement party were sensible of the great influence which must result therefrom to the king in the counties, and therefore opposed it with all their power. This was an easy task, because many of those officials, whose own interests were affected, and who were unable or unwilling to act consistently with the altered duties of their situations, which they were therefore compelled to resign, notwithstanding their attachment to the king, made no secret of their dissatisfaction, and because, moreover, errors occurred in the election of the persons who were chosen to succeed them. In several counties there was much opposition to the appointment of administrators, whose number considerably increased, because the obergespanns were immoveable, and they were appointed to replace such of those dignitaries, who, without submitting to the new law, showed an unwillingness to retire from their offices.

The right of presiding in the Sedrien was violently combated, because the new obergespanns and administrators were considered as pensioners of the king, who ought not to exercise any influence over a judicial office. The weakness of many of those who enjoyed the royal confidence, which prevented them from asserting their constitutional rights, increased the boldness of their opponents; the consequence was, that these measures, supported though they were by a considerable outlay from the public funds, did not produce the desired result, but even increased the popular discontent throughout the country. The exertions of the government were therefore directed to obtain a majority in the Hungarian Diet, to be convoked at the end of

the year 1847, for the purpose of securing the co-operation of its adherents in passing such legislative enactments as might be required for the repression of the daily-increasing agitation and the fast approaching anarchy. The measure was well intended, but it had to encounter insuperable obstacles, in the divisions which existed amongst the Conservatives. This body was divided into two parties, of whom one believed that security could only be found in the preservation of old forms and institutions, whilst the other considered them no longer tenable, and proposed their gradual reform. The former party consisted chiefly of the old magnates, the officials, and the land-owners ; the latter, of the younger men who had not attached themselves to the opposition. At the head of the latter party stood the Hungarian court chancellor, Count Appony. The aversion of the former party for the latter party was almost as great as that of the younger party for the opposition. From motives of loyalty to the throne, it refrained from every species of agitation, but it did not support the projects of the other party. The latter, for the present, was possessed of power, and endeavoured by its exercise to secure a majority in the approaching parliament, by advancing such persons only to offices, honours, and situations, as could be depended upon for increasing the government majority, either by means of their own votes or those of their dependents. Many honourable claims and expectations were thereby injured, and the opposition seized the opportunity to damage the character of the government throughout the country, by charging them with the immoral use of corruption to attain their ends. The worst of the business was, that the party of the old adherents of the throne expressed themselves in this way, so that the others could not rely on them for support ; a consideration, however, which did not shake the sanguine self-confi-

dence of the latter, or prevent them from preparing those plans of reform which they intended to lay before the Diet, and which were deficient in nothing but the means of insuring their success.* A year before the summoning of the Diet a new difficulty arose, in the death of the Palatine, the Archduke Joseph, who had filled the highest office in the state during half a century, and had earned for himself a rich fund of experience, and the respect of all parties. He was a sensible, prudent, and also a shrewd man; his want of decision of character was the occasion, it is true, that many a stone was torn from the foundation of the constitution, but his prudence always made the attack recoil upon the heads of the assailants. With a speed hitherto unprecedented in Austria, his son, the Archduke Stephen, was nominated as the vicar of the palatine immediately after his decease, and the desire of the king was thus intimated that the nobles who had the power of selection might choose him for palatine. An opportunity was thus lost of

* From the sketch of its programme (Appendix No. 1) the intentions of that conservative party with which the government at that time co-operated may be gathered. In the Austrian daily press it is frequently spoken of at present under the name of the "*old conservatives*," though their proper name, according to our terminology, would be the "*young conservatives*." The programme embraces the entire field of administration and legislation. It was to have been passed into law, and gradually put into force by the Estates assembled at the next Diet, and in common co-operation with the government. The ancient ingenious Hungarian constitution of King Stephen, so full of years, yet so full of wisdom, would thus, without being overthrown, have been adapted to the demands of the age and to the wants of the Austrian united monarchy.

The sober mind and the youthful energy of the Archduke Stephen, the new palatine, seemed to have called him expressly to the execution of this great undertaking. In case of success, the name of Stephen, in like measure as, 800 years ago, it was inseparable from the *foundation*, so it would now have been inseparable from the *completion* of the Hungarian constitution. Instead of this, however, that name, when it, at any future day, recalls the origin of the constitution, will equally awaken the recollection of its overthrow in bloodshed.

having a previous understanding with the Archduke Stephen with respect to his willingness to carry out the projects of the Hungarian court chancellor, Count Appony. A difference in their sentiments soon became manifest, which was sedulously encouraged by the opponents of the new system, who surrounded the archduke, and consisted of men not only from the Conservative, but from the Opposition party.

The young archduke was anxious to imitate the example of his father, and not attach himself to any party ; but for this purpose he needed the experience of his father, and the skill with which the latter was accustomed to use the balancing-pole, in order to maintain an equal degree of influence between the contending parties : he thus fell unsuspectingly into the arms of the numerous and steady opponents of the government system. The unanimity with which he had been elected palatine, even by the counties most hostile to the government, was ominous, but nevertheless was a subject of congratulation in Vienna. The journey which he made through the country in the time that intervened between his election and the convocation of the Diet, a few months afterwards, was a splendid triumph, and exercised a beneficial influence on the minds of the Croats, who were at that time but unfavourably disposed towards the Magyars.

The Chancellor Appony and his young adherents expected to find in the youthful activity of the new palatine a source of powerful support, particularly for the preservation of order in the Diet, and they indulged in the most sanguine expectations. At the same moment, also, the Opposition calculated with certainty on obtaining a victory. In both camps, therefore, preparations were made for the parliamentary campaign, with confidence as to the result.

But that section of the Conservatives which was outside the camp assumed a grave aspect, and appeared overpowered by a gloomy anticipation of the events that were to follow. In the middle of November, 1847, the eventful Diet opened its sittings at Presburg, and so early as January, 1848, the government saw the impossibility of improving the state of the country by means of its assistance, and contemplated its dissolution; but the necessary preparations for so important a step had not yet been made when the events of March broke out.*

The commotions in Transylvania were a copy of those in Hungary, relieved by some slight differences arising from the more limited extent of territory, the absence of wealth among the movement party, the greater degree of intelligence and more tenacious power of resistance which the German element in the character of the Saxon people furnished.

In consequence of the ability, skill, and superior sagacity of Baron Josika, the court chancellor of Transylvania, sup-

* As the imperial government is at present introducing extensive reforms in the crown-land of Hungary, conquered by force of arms, it might be of some interest to see which of these reforms the crown, together with the Estates, had, at the diet of 1847, by means of a mutual and peaceable understanding, endeavoured to accomplish. The programme of the government party shows to their full extent the plans of reform (in existence) before March. *One* diet, however, did not suffice to give effect to them. The reader will perceive from the "*most gracious royal propositions*," of the 11th of November, 1847 (see No. 2, of the Appendix), which of them, as being of the greatest urgency, had been proposed for the consideration of the last diet at Presburg. The manner in which they were proposed itself exhibits an important innovation. The crown had in the previous diets confined itself to a general indication of those laws which were to be discussed, and concerning which they were to deliberate and to come to an understanding with the king. The *Estates themselves* had thus to draw up the *first* project of every law. On the occasion, however, in question, a complete project of law was laid before the diet, in order to shorten the proceedings and to give them a definite direction, a method which was beyond all doubt most practical, and moreover analogous to that already observed for a considerable time by the legislative assemblies of other countries.

ported by his numerous and active adherents, he succeeded in unexpectedly obtaining for the government a favourable issue from the Transylvanian Diet, which closed its sittings in 1847. Disputes which had lasted for years about the appointment to offices, the completing of the Transylvanian regiments, and other subjects, were arranged, not, however, without some sacrifice on the side of the government, but only of such rights as were merely nominal, and in practice had long been unproductive of any result. The first step was also taken in the way of settling the condition of the peasantry by passing an urbarial law, and in the way of an approach towards the central government, inasmuch as the Estates conferred upon its most distinguished German members the unexpected dignity of the Transylvanian *incolate*, or a right to establish their residence in the country.

This favourable conduct of the Transylvanian parliament, unexpected as it was, had the effect of exalting the hopes of the young Hungarian party devoted to the government, and led them to expect a similar result at Presburg; but the very reverse occurred, for the Hungarian movement party were able to seduce the Transylvanians from the course they had commenced, and force them along with them in their own movement.

After Hungary and Transylvania, Bohemia was the country where, from time immemorial, the existence of the assembly of the Estates was dearest to the memory of the people. The recollection of the importance of these bodies before the eventful battle on the White Hill, near Prague, was still vivid, and gave occasion to regret that that importance had been destroyed, and that Bohemia was now dependent on the court officials of Vienna. A feeling of jealousy of the Czechs against the Austrians, and a wish to resuscitate the nation and the language of that people, had never been extinguished.

The forms of the old constitution of the Estates had been retained in Bohemia more closely than elsewhere. The provincial officers of the Estates were always the persons who stood at the head of the provincial administration; the first provincial officer, who was styled the "Oberstburggraf," was the chief of the province, and the presidents of the courts of justice (courts of appeal and courts of trial) were necessarily provincial officers, and therefore members of the Estates. This semblance of former things, it is true, had lost its value, for the appointees to any situation, if they were not members of the Bohemian Estates, were immediately invested with the incolate and the necessary grade of nobility by the sovereign; and this very circumstance caused the remembrance of the old privileges to be retained. The demand for taxes on the part of the king, and various other requisitions, were usually taken into consideration by the Estates in their annual diets, and these diets always closed with a perfectly amicable understanding between the king and the Estates on the subject of the royal wishes. For a long period the Bohemian Estates had attached no value to such proceedings of the diet; they were considered mere acts of form, and remained dormant for thirty years. A few years ago, however, the united court chancery had the imprudence (in consequence of some delay in the proceedings of the diet, and the vote of taxes therewith connected) to compel the Estates to observe them, and thus furnished a powerful weapon against the government. The domestic funds apportioned to the Estates could be dispensed by that body, without the dictatorial superintendence of its chief, and even the crown itself had no control over these funds without the consent of the Estates; and although, from the unimportance of the supplies, this privilege might appear of no great im-

portance, it yet afforded the first opportunity for a decisive movement on the part of the Bohemian Estates.

The necessity of a consultation with the Estates, to obtain their previous consent to certain plans of improvement and amelioration, seemed to Count Chotek, who was Oberstburggraf in Bohemia, in consequence of his anxiety to do good, too slow a proceeding to ensure his compliance with the custom, and he therefore frequently took upon himself the responsibility of anticipating the consent of the Diet, and dealing with the funds. The influence which Count Chotek enjoyed with the Emperor Francis may have been the reason why the Estates, during his government, assented in silence to such an interpretation of their sentiments. But when his credit did not stand in the way, they took courage to oppose such usurpation. The favourable hearing which they experienced in Vienna caused them to take pleasure in entering into contests with their Oberstburggraf, and thus these became the order of the day. This was the first commencement of all those dissensions with the Estates in Bohemia, which had never been dreamt of till then. It is the character of every species of opposition, that it endeavours to extend its sphere of action. And hence it happened, that in addition to denying the authority of its chief, the Bohemian Estates began now to weigh the conduct of government; at first only in matters where they thought their own privileges were affected, but afterwards in points which concerned the whole country as much as themselves individually. They raised their voices against the nomination of persons to fill certain offices in the government, which were restricted to members of the Estates, and in which persons were installed who, before their appointment, did not belong to that order. When, upon the resignation of Count Chotek, the governing vice-president, Count Salm, was nominated in his place, his appointment gave

rise to loud complaints for the privileges of the Estates being slighted, by establishing in authority over them a person who had enjoyed no official situation in the country, and was not possessed of the legal qualification in property. And yet the precedent was not new; for in the year 1811, Count Kolowrath was, under similar personal peculiarities, nominated by the Emperor Francis to the same situation, and was recognized by the Bohemian Estates, without opposition, as their provisional chief. The government, on this occasion, gave way. A provincial official was persuaded to renounce his post, in order that it might be conferred on Count Salm. He then received from his brother a property in Bohemia, and thus became qualified, in the opinion of the Estates, to accept the post conferred upon him. After this victory the Bohemian Estates sought new causes of contention. They first took into consideration the question of their domestic fund. And here they found cause for violently opposing the views of the government upon an unimportant question. The expenses of some foundation-members of the military academy at Vienna, who were presented by the Estates themselves, were charged to the domestic fund, whereas such expense had previously, very unjustly, fallen on the shoulders of the clergy. Although the question was restricted to the more correct apportionment of a charge which had long existed, and which was incurred for the sole advantage of the dependants of the Estates themselves, they nevertheless, in order to prevent the government from intermeddling with the domestic fund, refused to contest the point at the expense of those funds, although they could well afford the means of so doing, and the appointments were taken possession of by government.

They now exerted themselves to obtain a still greater influence than formerly over the distribution and allot-

ment of the direct taxes. In order to assert their claim to the sole right of levying taxes, their leaders in the Diet had recourse to the extraordinary plan of transferring to the dominical (or socage) landowner a part of the taxes paid by the rustic (villein) landowner, with which plan was probably united the intention of securing the gratitude of the peasantry. The majority of voters were in favour of the proposal of their leaders, without considering the consequences of the system of increased taxation, smuggled in under the name of an alteration in the assessment, and were very disagreeably surprised at discovering that this alteration in the system of taxation, which seriously affected the socage landowner, was received by the peasant, to whom it secured a scarcely perceptible diminution of taxation, with the utmost indifference, and without the smallest indication of gratitude. The voting of the direct taxes, which was the duty of the Estates in the so-called Postulaten-Diets, although the amount of taxation remained unchanged, was considered hitherto as mere matter of form ; but now it was intended to have a practical meaning ; for the Bohemian Estates availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the order which was issued by the united court chancery, that they should make regular parliamentary decrees, to connect their claims with the votes for taxes, and to defer the decree, as well as the levying of the taxes, till the moment when their claims should be recognized.

Hence arose an active struggle with the government, which found it impossible to make the payment of taxes depend upon an agreement with the Estates, on many subjects which bore no relation whatever to the question of taxation. The president of the Estates, Count Salm, who, by the appointment of the Archduke Stephen to the post of provincial chief in Bohemia, had received the character and title

of second governing president, was obliged to represent the government, and on this account became as much disliked as his predecessor, Count Chotek, had been. He had, however, far less opportunity than the latter to secure the respect and regard of the country, because he was not, like the Oberstburggraf, the representative of the sovereign; for the archduke stood above him in that capacity. And in addition, we must recollect that the latter, in his efforts to secure popularity, endeavoured as much as possible to avoid every unpleasant collision with the leaders of the Estates, and succeeded admirably in this object, by means of his intellectual parts, his lively disposition, his playful wit, and his agreeable exterior.

The assemblies of the Bohemian Estates were the most discontented, after those of Hungary and Transylvania. A bad symptom displayed itself in the circumstance that the sovereign did not escape attacks, but was constantly reminded of his coronation oath. This boldness towards an absolute monarch can be explained by the sympathy which many of the chiefs of the Bohemian opposition found among the higher circles at Vienna, and even among the influential friends of the throne, in consequence of which the whole matter was viewed in the mildest light, and considered a mere storm in a glass of water; and the abusive speeches which were uttered against the imperial decrees opposed to the wishes of the people, were explained away by saying that they were directed against the courtiers, or the councillors at the side of the emperor. Such a connivance of the higher circles with the Estates, evident as it was, naturally encouraged their discontent, and increased their aversion to the bureaucracy, as it was termed. To this last class, not only in Bohemia, but in the other provinces of the empire, all the blame of the good that was omitted,

and the evil that was committed, was ascribed, but without justice, as the bureaucracy had no authority to alter the state machine or to change the system of government. But the aversion with which they were regarded was not wholly unfounded, because they had the impertinence to lay claim to universal knowledge, and frequently were harsh in the exercise of the power that was intrusted to them. But they were doubtless oftentimes irritated and vexed at the hatred which the Estates and the high aristocracy evinced towards them.

Whoever worked with zeal in a government office, even though by birth and social relationship he was a member of the higher orders, was regarded by his fellows as a bureaucrat, and it was a rule, particularly with that portion of the higher aristocracy who were called in derision "*la crême*" of society (because they raised themselves above their fellows as cream does above milk), to behave to the bureaucracy in a friendly and polite manner, only when they needed their assistance. And thus a system of reciprocal animosity was established, which led to continual annoyance.

Those who were not members of the aristocracy felt no sympathy for them, but rejoiced at their disagreements with the government, because they hoped, by the humiliation of the latter, to raise themselves to power.

The foreign press (particularly that widely-circulated, but strictly-prohibited, journal, the *Grenzboten*) praised the heroic courage of the Bohemian Estates, but lamented that they entered into contests for their own individual privileges, and did not defend the general interests of the people. This censure fell upon a fruitful soil, for the Bohemian Estates soon enlarged the field of their complaints. In order to set about the recovery of their privileges, they established a com-

mission chosen from amongst themselves, who were to examine all documents in their archives which might serve to support their claims against the government. At the same time they brought under their revision transactions of the administration which had no relation to the Estates as a body, but affected the country at large, or the kingdom in particular. By this means they usurped the attitude of "representatives of the people," a position for which they had never been designed, and for which, from their very elements and composition, they were wholly unfitted. Many plans were now brought forward, which, partly from their great importance (of which the proposers themselves were unaware), partly from the serious influence they might exercise on the credit of the state or on the money market, and partly on account of the impossibility of defraying the attendant expenses, were not supported by the officials who were called to take them into consideration. The rejection of any such project was the occasion of loud complaints against the detested bureaucracy, who were accused of fettering the good intentions of the king, and of bringing every species of calamity on the monarchy. And although such charges did not lead to present blows, they paved the way to a revolution, by undermining all confidence in the intelligence, and all faith in the goodwill and power of the government, and established in its place that mistrust which brought all the mischief of the present time upon the empire.

To render themselves completely the representatives of the Czech people, the Estates now applied themselves to fanning the flame of popular independence, which had never been perfectly extinguished, but continued to burn faintly in the bosoms of the people. Those who spoke German much more fluently and more correctly than Bohemian assumed the character of genuine Slavonians; in the principal

taverns and coffee-houses of Prague, where scarcely a tongue unacquainted with the German language ever tasted refreshment, the bills of fare were drawn up in Bohemian; invitations to parties were also issued in the same tongue, although they were not addressed to the humbler classes of society, among whom alone an ignorance of the German language could possibly exist; and in the country towns, whose population consisted of Germans, the streets invariably received Bohemian names, if the chief magistrate happened to be a native. And thus squabbles about the language, to which the greater part of the people had never paid any attention, were called into life. As it had always been the custom to promulgate the laws and decrees in both languages, and as in the Czechish districts, the clergy, the schoolmasters, and public officials, always used the Bohemian language in their intercourse with the people, the result was, that, in spite of the lingering feeling of nationality, scarcely a trace of real animosity towards the Germans was to be found among the Czechs; on the contrary, it had come to be a very general custom for Bohemian parents to send their children to friends in German districts, and to take charge of their children in return, in order that both parties might enjoy the opportunity of becoming acquainted with each other's language. The present division, therefore, on the subject of tongues and national feelings, did not arise from that portion of the Czech people who are ignorant of the German language, but rather it has been called into being by the upper classes, in order thereby to weaken the central administration, after the example which had been given in Hungary. After a silent battle had been fought in this way for many years, an open rupture took place, in the year 1847, between the government and the Bohemian Estates, which, as a forerunner of the events which subsequently took place

in March, 1848, deserves to be more particularly noticed here.

For a long time the royal towns of Bohemia had decided that they were no longer subject to defray the heavy and constantly-increasing expenses of the existing criminal courts out of their own resources, and therefore they energetically urged the necessity of some relief. The justice of this demand was universally acknowledged, and the amount to be contributed by the different towns for the purpose was calculated at 50,000 florins, annually. The government, to protect the state finances from a new outlay, proposed to the Bohemian Estates to charge this payment for the towns on the domestic fund of the State; but the latter rejected the proposal, declaring that the domestic fund was not liable to this charge, relating, as it did, directly to the purposes of the State. In this they were quite right, as the government, in fact, admitted, the latter having undertaken, as a state charge, the support of the towns in defraying the expenses of the criminal courts. Here the matter would have been settled, if a desire to indemnify the finances for this new impost had not occasioned the unfortunate measure of making this unimportant addition to the direct taxes of Bohemia alone. The additional amount of taxation which was therefore imposed, and announced to the Bohemian Estates in the royal demand, was carried through the parliament first in the year 1845, and afterwards in 1846, not without opposition. The title of this new tax was not expressly declared, because it was generally customary to account to the Estates for the allotment or distribution of the taxes.

Although, in the Diet of 1847, held for considering the estimates, a precisely similar sum was demanded for the year 1848, the Estates, nevertheless, considered themselves justified in asking the government by what authority the

taxation, since the year 1845, had been increased by the sum of 50,000 florins.

This demand suggested the reflection, that the first step was thereby made by the Estates towards controlling the government in granting the supplies. The government, therefore, adopted the usual course, and requested the Estates to allot and appoint the required taxes for the year 1848 in the same proportion as they had done for the two preceding years. The Estates refused obedience, and declared afterwards that they only consented on this occasion, by way of exception to the general rule, to instruct their committee to grant taxes to the same amount as had been allowed up to the year 1848, and this for the purpose of preventing injury which would accrue to the public service, if, acting on their sense of right, they should, on account of the existing differences, postpone the question of taxes till the end of the Diet, of which there was no immediate prospect. Thus the gauntlet was thrown down. The government was obliged to take it up, and engage in the contest, if it did not wish to see its position totally changed in relation to the Bohemian Estates, and afterwards in relation to all other Estates, whose privileges could be traced from an earlier origin, and were, in substance, identically the same.

The entire amount of taxes demanded was thus imposed on the tax-payers by the chairman of the Estates and governing president, with the privity of the Corporation of the Estates, and measures were thus taken effectually to meet every refusal to pay the taxes. This caution appeared necessary, because on an occasion some years before, when, on account of a delay in the closing of the Diet, the proper taxes were assessed in the usual way through the office of the Estates before the close of the Diet, some members of the Estates, of high rank, threatened to refuse payment, though they were then

the organs of the Estates, and had no scruple in making the safety of the public service to depend on a matter of form. But, in the mean time, no such demonstration was made on the present occasion. Advantage was taken of the decided conduct of the government in every possible manner to render it and the statesmen, who were considered as its authors, objects of aversion, in order still more to excite the national feeling and to prepare for the ensuing contest with the government when the Diet should assemble in the ensuing spring. The arsenal of the Estates was in the mean time properly prepared for this contest by the committee of the Estates, which, as already mentioned, was appointed to make a report of the documents embodying the rights to which the Estates were entitled. After two years' labour, this report was so voluminous that the Estates did not consider it proper that it should be laid in its full extent before the throne, but that it should be preserved in the archives of the Estates for use upon fit and proper occasions, and only submitted the general effect of the same to the emperor in a report of the Estates, with a view of having some security for the maintenance of their old privileges, which had been set aside by the bureaucracy.

It is beyond the limits of our task to enter upon a description and critical examination of the claims of the Estates. Be it enough to mention that at the head of these claims, although the recollection of the privilege was certainly not very opportune, was placed the right to choose a king in case the ruling dynasty should become extinct, as also the demand that the imposition of taxes should be made dependent on the previous consent of the Estates, and that their advice should be taken on every law and regulation affecting the country. The attitude which the Bohemian Estates thus assumed with respect to the absolute Emperor of Austria,

and the daring way in which they acted, might well betoken how sensible they were of their own strength—a strength which could only arise from their strict union with the Estates of the other Austrian provinces, and from a certainty of obtaining support among the unprivileged classes of society. This community of purpose was, in fact, not unknown to the government, who were fully aware of the agreement which the directors of the movement of the Bohemian Estates had formed with those of Moravia, Lower Austria, and Hungary; they were also aware of the efforts which they were making to cross over the gulph which yawned between them and the unprivileged classes on the bridge of their common national feeling. Notwithstanding all this, they remained tranquil spectators, in firm reliance on the so much vaunted attachment which the masses of the people were expected to display when the hour of danger should arrive. The government hoped, moreover, to avoid that critical hour by a compromise with the Estates. For this purpose a special department was opened in the United Court Chancery for the purpose of settling the relations of all the provincial Estates with the government, on the basis of right and of practical consistency, and to settle the principles of their regulation. The plan was a happy one, but it came too late, and failed in its intent, for the new department in the court chancery had not yet given signs of life, when the events of March dealt a death-blow not only to it, but to the court chancery, and to all the ancient privileged Estates.

We may perhaps have wearied the patience of the reader by the details which we have given of the agitation in the Bohemian Estates, but we have done so, because it was the prototype of what occurred in the other provinces, where ancient privileged Estates existed, with some variation in

the degree of determination and obstinacy, in proportion to the power which they severally possessed.

The Moravian Estates, nearly allied as they were with those of Bohemia, were their earliest and most zealous imitators. But the secession of the most influential and important man, who had placed himself at first at the head of the Opposition, but subsequently became an adherent of the government in Bohemia, where he was also a member of the Estates, in addition to the great influence of the governor of the country (who was also chief of the Estates), gave the movement a very inoffensive character.

In Styria there were some individual members of the Estates who felt themselves disposed to struggle against the government; the majority, however, were too much disposed for peace to allow themselves to be forced by the others to a stronger manifestation of their feelings, and they knew, moreover, that they were not independent and influential enough to break with the government, particularly as they could not overlook, what so often occurs in mountainous countries, that the democracy was quite a match for the aristocracy, a result which had been in a great measure brought about by an agricultural society of long standing, chiefly composed of country people and tradesmen, which had extended its branches all over Styria, and was in unceasing confidential communication with the Archduke John. It could not, therefore, have escaped the observation of the Estates, that a contest with the government must be attended with great danger to themselves, since the democracy is ever the enemy of privileged orders. They adhered, therefore, to the old path, and presented their wishes or their complaints in the old accustomed peaceable and respectful manner to the emperor. The Estates of Carinthia, and of

the district above the river Enns, were circumstanced precisely in a similar manner.

These countries, although they too were in the possession of very ancient privileges, did not approve of entering into a contest with the crown for their assertion, being convinced that in such a struggle they would find no support. The Estates of Silesia entertained the same conviction.

The corporations of the Estates in the other provinces (with the exception of Lower Austria, of which we shall say more hereafter) were created by the Emperor Francis, after he had reconquered those countries, and were so constituted, that an opposition on their part against the government would have been without any basis of justice. In all these provinces, therefore, although they were in truth not strangers to discontent, and even entertained a desire to extend their own influence, and to effect some alterations in the system of government, they were entirely opposed to any violent movement.

This was not the case, however, in Lower Austria, where the cry which went forth from the Estates to the landowners in the 17th century, "Subscribes Ferdinandule," still lived in the recollection of the inhabitants, and dissensions between the Estates and the government officials were the order of the day. It is true that these dissensions arose at first merely from certain orders issued from the circle-authorities in Lower Austria, or it might be from the court chancery; but the relation of the Estates towards the throne remained undisturbed. But as this relation had become the very source of dispute in Bohemia, and a member of the Bohemian Estates, who was also one of the highest order of the aristocracy, stated, upon his introduction into the Lower Austrian Assembly, his conviction that the privileges of the

Estates were as little acknowledged and respected in one place as in the other, this expression aroused their energies to demand their rights, and assert them even in Vienna.* In addition to the ordinary assemblies of the Estates, meetings were held of members who agreed in political opinions, complaints against officials and against the crown were drawn up at length, extensive remedies were proposed, and addresses to the emperor were thereupon prepared, which deputations afterwards presented at the foot of the throne.

Under the modest title of a plan to regulate the business of the Diet and the general assemblies of the Estates, a species of charter was prepared, which would have entirely changed the relation between the Estates and the throne. The failure or rejection of such plans and proposals gave occasion to very loud complaints of oppression against the bureaucracy, of inactivity or incapacity against the

* The pamphlet, "Die Nieder Oesterreichischen Landstände und die Genesis" ("The Provincial Estates of Lower Austria, and the Genesis"), &c., which has been mentioned in the preface of the third edition, corrects (pp. 10–12) the above assertion. It assures us that the endeavours of the Estates of Lower Austria to dispel the apathy of the assemblies of the Estates, which had almost become proverbial, and to awaken them to constitutional activity, are traceable back beyond the year 1835. The attempts made since that year to rouse themselves up from that apathetic state had, for the greatest part, been without effect. The Estates of Lower Austria had not staggered forward out of their sleep before 1840, and the ten following years, when they had been aroused by those few of their members who, apparently slumbering, had nevertheless been watchful. According to this, the *endeavours* of the Estates of Lower Austria to display once more their activity manifested itself in the last years of the reign of the Emperor Francis. *Attempts* were made, in the year of his death. The real staggering forth did not, however, commence until after the year 1840. It was exactly at that time that the Bohemian Estates, which had been amalgamated with the assembly of the Estates of Lower Austria, reproached the latter in the manner we have stated. As we did not enjoy the favour of belonging to the Estates of Lower Austria, we hope to be pardoned for not having been aware of their activity during their apparent slumber, and in consequence of which we referred its commencement to that moment when we saw them stagger forth.

central government, and of hostile designs entertained by one or other members of the same. The tendency of every step was to obtain some degree of control over the direction of the finances, and a participation in the legislature, and to secure in important matters the same privileges as existed in Bohemia, with the exception of what had reference to their nationality; for on these points the German inhabitants of Lower Austria had no new rights to assert. But for this very reason, that there was no occasion to appeal to the feeling of nationality amongst those people, they failed in securing for their projects that source of strength which is to be found in the sympathy and assistance of the lower orders; a resource, however, of which the Bohemians could always avail themselves. They were obliged, therefore, to seek other assistance. Accordingly they had recourse to the middle classes of society, with whom, on account of the circumstances in which the capital was placed, they had also formed a more intimate connection. Members of the Estates now took an active part in the various societies established in Vienna, amongst which, the Commercial and the Legal-and-Political Reading Society showed the greatest disposition for active operations in the political field. The commercial body, which had felt itself crippled in its speculations by the proper control which the administration of finance exercised over the Lower Austrian National Bank, by counteracting various projects for dealing in its shares, was not slow on its part to blame and discredit the government; men of letters and pretended literati, who formed a numerous class, and a multitude of teachers who were in the pay of the state, in different public institutions, poured forth their wrath at the fetters in which the press was held bound, and expressed their discontent that a general system of liberty was not established for learning and

teaching. The angry speeches of many eminent bankers, and also of some of the respected professors of the university of Vienna, produced a powerful impression, in the first place, upon the lower order of tradespeople and artizans, and in the second place, upon the students and, through their influence, upon their parents, which had the effect of exciting mistrust in the government, breeding general discontent, and nourishing a gloomy conviction of the unavoidable necessity of a total change in the political system. Even the very officials themselves were not free from this contagion. In the casino of the nobles, in the reading club, on the exchange, in taverns and coffee-houses, in the courts and public offices, everywhere were heard loud expressions of censure and want of confidence in the government, uttered openly and without apprehension.

Even in the very neighbourhood of the court were found men, who not only joined in expressing the same sentiments, but that in so noisy a manner, that the emperor, a short time before the events of March, found it necessary to admonish them on the subject. The discontented Poles, Hungarians, and Italians, who happened to be in Vienna, assisted with all their energies to increase the spirit of hostility against the government.

The Lower Austrian Estates, moreover, found a strong host of allies ready to assist them in any endeavours to oppose the existing order of things, willing to stand by them in every effort to destroy, but by no means disposed to aid afterwards in their attempts to rebuild.

Such was the aspect of affairs in the different parts of the Austrian empire, previous to March, 1848, and in this condition they might perhaps have continued to remain, if into the inflammable materials which had been thus collected together, the spark of a triumphant democracy in France

had not suddenly and unexpectedly been thrown to excite a general conflagration. The news of this victory reached Vienna on the 29th February, 1848, by means of a courier to the state chancellor; it was published on the 1st of March, and on the 13th of the same month its effect was already apparent.

Before we pass to the events of March, we must request the indulgence of our readers for having subjected their patience to so severe a trial, by having so long dwelt upon the previous epoch. To many of them our sketch of the Austrian state machine, the account we have given of the Austrian government system, of the excesses of the provincial Estates, &c., will have appeared wholly unnecessary, because we have related nothing new; but whoever has not been placed in relations of official business to the different Austrian authorities, will find in our account of their divisions and commotions the key to the solution of many perplexing difficulties which happened during the days of March and the subsequent time. It is not our task to write a chronicle of the year 1848; we wish to inquire into the origin of that convulsion to which the whole form and constitution of Austria, as it existed previously to March, was obliged to succumb in its entirety, and in every individual part. For this purpose it seemed necessary to examine the nature of the seed, and mark the first budding and gradual ripening of that fatal fruit, which, greedily and immoderately enjoyed, has thrown old Austria into a paroxysm, from which no person can with certainty foresee her recovery, though we may in a manner express our ardent wishes that that prophecy may be truly fulfilled, which these five mysterious letters, A, E, I, O, U, were intended to announce, "Austria erit in orbe ultima."

CHAPTER III.

THE BEGINNING OF THE MONTH OF MARCH, 1848.

THE morning of the 1st of March conveyed to the inhabitants of Vienna, through the medium of the public papers, the news of the victory which the democrats of Paris had obtained over the citizen king, and the substitution of a republic for the monarchy. Heaven seemed willing to give notice to the inhabitants of Vienna of the calamity which this news portended to their city. At early dawn thick clouds enveloped the town; towards four o'clock in the afternoon they were alarmed by a storm of thunder and lightning,—a rare occurrence at such a period of the year. The aspect of the physical seemed to resemble that of the moral world.

The account of the occurrences in Paris on the 24th of February at first excited the utmost astonishment; the consequences of the events which had taken place lay hid in darkness: as these became gradually displayed, there burst forth one of the most terrible political storms, which no resident in the previously quiet and happy imperial capital could have conceived possible; popular rule and popular terrorism were predominant, and the traces of their destructive agency will long remain behind.

The first impression produced by the convulsion in Paris seemed to be the same on all classes of society, and on all parties,—that of astonishment at so rapid and unexpected a dethronement of the King of the French, who, in general opinion, was regarded as the most prudent, most shrewd, and

most experienced ruler of the age. One might have understood the possibility of the throne becoming vacant in France by the assassination, but not by the expulsion of King Louis Philippe.

This feeling of surprise was soon succeeded by reflections, which had often before arisen, in contemplating what might possibly occur at the future decease of the first king of the house of Orleans, and these reflections were as various as different political sentiments could render them. The friends of peace and order looked forward to the future with apprehension, the leaders of the revolution, on the other hand, with hope. Fear ever produces inactivity, while hope prompts to action. Among the friends of order, therefore, a helpless inertness succeeded the first feelings of astonishment, whilst among the movement party, on the contrary, a prompt activity at once displayed itself in the Rhine provinces, and subsequently extended itself further. The democratic societies took advantage of the fear which was once more awakened in the German governments, lest the newly-established French republic might now wish to realize the desire they had evinced in 1840, to extend their frontier to the Rhine, in order to preach up the necessity of German unity and concord, and to maintain that this end could never be accomplished with the speed that circumstances required through the Frankfort Diet, which had failed for thirty years to produce union and strength in Germany, but must be attained by the hands of the German people themselves. An assembly of the people of Germany, in a house of self-elected representatives, without any interference of the princes, was announced as the only means of displaying the people's power of resistance, and everything was speedily prepared which could conduce to the development of this plan. The governments had not the power to oppose this popular movement. The

democratic unions in Vienna, which subsisted in spite of the so much boasted watchful and suspicious police, lent a diligent hand to the preparation of these measures in the imperial capital, though they were at first conducted in silence and with caution. The Austrian government was so full of a lamentable over-confidence in its security against internal attacks, that it only directed its attention to the danger which threatened it from Germany and Italy. Preparations were necessary to meet this danger. For this purpose the requisite pecuniary resources were to be got ready. A new loan was already projected, but it could only be employed to supply the momentary want of money : measures were first to be taken to establish a permanent uniformity between the income and the expenditure of the state. And as a diminution of the latter was not possible, under existing circumstances, it was obviously essential to increase the former, which was impracticable without discovering new sources of revenue. Though the condition of the Austrian finances, at the commencement of the year 1848, was not such as to alarm competent judges, they were yet, according to public opinion, in a critical position.

On this subject public opinion was misled partly by the general system of secrecy in state matters, partly by the imprudence of high personages, who, in order to justify the rejection of demands upon the state finances, which came before them, alleged their disorder by way of pretext, sometimes even with an allusion to an approaching national bankruptcy. This imprudence afterwards bore bitter fruit, inasmuch as it increased and established a mistrust of the government, and a general discontent with its proceedings. The head of the finance department, Baron Kübek, president of the Court Chamber, recognized the overpowering importance of these circumstances. From his anxiety to reduce

within the compass of the strictest necessity the expenditure of the state, in its most expensive branch, namely, the military establishment, he was engaged in perpetual conflict with the war department, which, on its side, being pressed by the urgent demands of the commander-in-chief of the Italian armies, laid claim to all the disposable funds to increase the army and establish it on a war footing. This army, as early as February, 1848, was increased to 85,000 men, and was thus rendered, according to the judgment of experienced men, sufficiently strong to preserve order in the country. An attack from King Charles Albert, without a previous declaration of war, and in direct opposition to his assurances of friendly alliance, could not but appear to men of justice and honour, such as were then in the Austrian cabinet, to be a moral and political impossibility, more particularly after the explanation given to the treaties of 1815 by the European powers, with a view of acknowledging the bearings of those treaties upon their relations with Italy.

The reproach of an ill-advised parsimony, which has been directed by some persons against the Austrian central government, on the ground of a supposed neglect of the Italian armies, and which found a vent in the columns of the *Augsburg Universal Gazette*, particularly in their Italian correspondence, is therefore incorrect; since the burdens already imposed on the Austrian finances, almost too heavy to be borne, the universal outcry against the pressure of the existing taxes, which rendered their further increase impossible, and the general mistrust in the condition of the finances, arising as already stated, and diligently encouraged by the enemies of the government, rendered it a duty for the statesmen of Austria, although they were as yet responsible to no parliament, but only to an absolute monarch and their own consciences, not to dip deeper into the

purses of the citizens than undoubted and unavoidable necessity demanded. But so earnest, particularly in the capital, was the anxiety of every one to blame and misrepresent every proceeding of the government, that the very same individuals who complained of financial difficulties, approaching bankruptcy, and oppressive taxation, actually censured the government for not establishing a larger and more powerful army in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Indeed, the circumstances of this kingdom were a never-failing source of agitation. In the same moment one might hear voices complaining of the weakness and unseasonable mildness of the government towards its Italian subjects, which had continually spared and favoured them at the expense of the rest; and again, voices, which ascribed the discontent in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces to the Austrian system of oppression, extortion, and neglect. And thus all respect and confidence was systematically withdrawn from a government, whose love for its subjects, and untiring solicitude for their general welfare, and strict uprightness, shone forth in all its dealings, and which should only have been charged with an excess of caution, and, as a necessary result, a languor of administration. The immediate consequences of this lamentable state of things upon the branch of government intrusted to his superintendence, namely, the finances, did not escape the sharp observation of Baron Kübek. His position justified and required him to adopt some remedy. The publication of the state budget would have been sufficient at any other time to correct the opinion of the public; but, in the excitement which then existed, it would have probably produced the very contrary effect: since the abandonment of the perfect secrecy which was formerly observed so strictly, that in the statistical tables which were officially communicated to the heads of the several departments, no notice of the state debts was

ever inserted, with the adoption of a system which made public those secrets, would have been considered as an attempt to deceive the public, and as a cunning artifice to obtain undeserved credit.

He proposed, therefore, to require the Estates of all the provinces to send deputies to Vienna, that they might there receive the most complete explanation, supported by documents, and might consider such ways and means of managing the finances, as might lead to a restoration of equality between the income and expenditure of the state. This step might have proved of incalculable importance, and might have paved the way to a constitutional adjustment of the monarchy. The plan was not rejected by the emperor, but rather approved of. But when the details of the measure were discussed, doubts and delays arose again in this instance, and thus it happened that the 13th of March arrived before a single step had been taken in the matter. But for this delay, the government might have opposed the threatened revolution with a greater degree of moral strength, for it could no longer be accused of closing its ear to the wishes of the Estates, who wished to play the part of representatives of the people, and the change from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy would have been less hasty and less destructive in its effects. For, after the victory which the doctrine of the people's sovereignty had so unexpectedly obtained in Paris on the 24th of February, the chiefs of the popular party in Germany were able to use their power to effect the overthrow of their German rulers. As the princes, in the year 1813, in order to strengthen their power against the Emperor of the French, had evoked the spirit of freedom in their people, so they deemed it advisable, in their fear of an approaching contest with the French republic in 1848, not to oppose with force the impetuous efforts of the

German people to obtain their independence. One glance at the events which occurred in Germany immediately after the February revolution in Paris will establish the truth.

As early as the 29th of February, the ministry of Baden, at Carlsruhe, being hard-pressed by the demagogues, notified to the Chamber of Deputies that the ministry was prepared to bring forward measures for the establishment of complete freedom of the press, trial by jury, and the arming of the people. In the evening of that very day the citizens appeared under arms! At Stuttgart, on the 2nd of March, a petition was signed in an assembly of the citizens, and addressed to the king, requiring him to summon a German parliament, to establish the jury system, unfettered freedom of the press, the privilege of holding public meetings and debates, a legal equality of all religious denominations, equality of taxation, freedom of land tenure, earnest efforts to develope the commercial and political resources of Germany, and an arming of the people,—which petition produced the immediate convocation of the Estates, in order that suitable projects of law might be proposed for their consideration. Similar requests were made at the same time in the duchy of Nassau, and for the most part were granted. The Diet sitting at Frankfort found itself compelled to declare, even so early as the 3rd of March, that it should be lawful for every German state of the confederation to abolish the censorship and establish liberty of the press, under guarantees to secure, as far as possible, the other states, and indeed the entire confederation, against an abuse of this privilege. On the 9th of March, the colours, black, red, and gold, were adopted as the colours of the confederation. In Munich, King Louis, after a popular tumult, which lasted for many days, and a plundering of the arsenal, on the 4th of March, felt himself compelled, in a proclamation, dated March 6th, to convoke a

meeting of the Estates for the 16th of the same month (the lower chamber had been dissolved on March 3rd, and he revoked this dissolution), in order to submit to them projects of law of nearly a similar tendency, and at the same time the immediate swearing of the army to the constitution, and the abolition of the censorship in domestic and foreign matters, which had been postponed, was commanded. In Berlin the king declared, on the 7th of March, that the right of periodically assembling, which had hitherto been conferred only on the united committee of the provincial Estates, was transferred to the united Diet, and on the 8th, that the censorship should be abolished and freedom of the press established; which announcements, however, were not sufficient to prevent a popular assembly from meeting in the zoological gardens on the 13th of the same month, which proceeded to the palace, and, midst the insults of the soldiery, shouted for liberty and freedom of the press, a sample of the serious events which were subsequently to occur.

The King of Saxony was obliged, on the 6th of March, to consent to the immediate convocation of the Estates, and to the dismissal of his minister, "von Falkenstein," who was an object of aversion to the people.

It does not fall within the limits of our task to describe the popular commotions which took place in all the provinces of Germany about the same time. They were all formed after the same model. Some governments were fortunate enough to postpone the tumult, none could succeed in defeating the movement. On the contrary, in Heidelberg, the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people obtained a triumph on the 5th of March, which was full of portentous results for the whole of Germany. There, on the above-mentioned day, a body consisting of fifty-one individuals, who had proposed themselves as representatives of the German people, came to the resolu-

tion, that since the Diet no longer possessed the confidence of the nation, a general assembly of trustworthy men from all the provinces of the German empire should meet together with all speed, to take immediate measures for a national representation, which should be adopted in all the dependencies of the country by popular election, according to the amount of the inhabitants. To make preliminary arrangements, a committee, consisting of seven of those present, was immediately appointed. In the course of a week this committee published an invitation to all those who ever had been, or at that time might be, members of the Estates, or belonged to the legislative bodies in any of the countries of Germany, to meet in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, on Thursday, March 30th, for the purpose of considering a plan for the formation of a German national parliament, with the proviso that particular invitations should be forwarded to a certain number of other eminent men who possessed the confidence of the German people, but who had not previously been members of the Estates.

The German governments were obliged in silent submission to witness this bold movement, which asserted the sovereignty of the people; but with regard to the Italian princes, the case was not much better. On March 5th, the constitution was proclaimed in Turin. On March 6th, the King of Naples, who had already given a constitution to his own subjects, which, however, found no approval in Sicily, convoked the Sicilian parliament to meet on the 23rd of March, in Palermo, in order to adapt to the existing state of things the constitution of the year 1812.

On March 7th, the Pope had to excuse himself to the Roman people, on the ground that in the States of the Church a constitution could not be prepared so speedily as in other kingdoms, and sought to appease the excited populace with

an assurance that he would be able to satisfy them in a few days.

And thus we see, that no sooner was the throne overturned in France, than the princes of Germany and Italy became at once subject to the will of their people!

Thus, totally destitute as the kingdoms of western Europe seemed to be of all power of resistance against the force of democracy, it became evident that even in the Austrian monarchy the feelings of all those parties who were averse to the existing form of government, who were dissatisfied with the action of the state machine, and were excited by a desire for reform, could not long remain inactive. The moment for commencing the movement must have appeared so favourable to the reformers in Austria, that they could scarcely expect a more advantageous one to occur, since the embarrassment of the government in Italy, in consequence of the national hatred which was excited and supported from abroad; in Hungary, in consequence of the increasing arrogance of the Magyars; in Bohemia, in consequence of the open collision with the Estates; in Lower Austria, in consequence of a similar division, which was every day apprehended; the condition of the finances, which rendered a still deeper plunge into the pockets of the citizens unavoidable, and the feelings of discontent and distrust of the government, which were now loudly expressed in the higher and middle classes of society, encouraged the hope that a resistance on the part of the government, which even in Paris, under circumstances of infinitely less difficulty, King Louis Philippe, who was considered a prudent and resolute man, had not been able to carry into effect, and which German princes had never attempted to undertake, would not be made in Vienna against the movement party, or at least was not much to be anticipated.

Renewed activity was now observable in all the corporations, unions, and clubs, and even among private individuals, and wishes which were formerly expressed only in secret, were now openly announced. In the first place, the voice of intelligence, as it is termed, became loud; it had complained, for many years, of the enchainment of the mind, which resulted from the rules of the censorship, and from the manner of their administration, and had been encouraged to expect a reform in that objectionable system. This measure of reform, which had been so ardently expected, commenced on the 1st of February, 1848, but produced, upon those whose hopes had been thereby excited, a perfect astonishment; since they recognized in these measures of reform rather a stricter superintendence over the press than any favour conferred upon it. Soon after the commencement of the new censorship regulations, the principal booksellers in Vienna presented a petition to the emperor, for the abolition of the censorship grievance, admirably drawn up in an original tone, in the style of the Lord's Prayer, and addressed to him in the second person (but not written in verse), and immediately afterwards a report was circulated that several book establishments were about to close for want of means, if immediate help was not extended to them, and thus the sources of bad feeling were increased amongst the educated classes.

The Trades Union of Lower Austria on the 6th of March, in one of its ordinary monthly meetings, at which the Archduke Francis Charles, and the minister, Count Kolowrath, were present, voted an address to the emperor, in which, whilst they noticed the astonishing events which had occurred in the west of Europe, they set forth the deep wound given to public credit, the cessation of all trade, and the magnitude of the impending danger; and they further de-

clared that nothing but a strong and cordial union of the government with the Estates and the citizens, a strong and cordial union of Austria with the interests of the entire German fatherland, coupled with perfect sincerity, could win back that old national confidence which had so often been put to the test; and they added an assurance that every member of the union was ready to sacrifice his wealth and his life for the hereditary imperial house, in the conviction that the emperor would adopt the wisest and best means to avert the impending danger. In the composition of this address, in spite of the appended and parenthetical vows of self-devotion, one could plainly read a wish to effect a radical change in the government; for such declarations were by no means called for, inasmuch as the French republic, which had been re-established, gave not the slightest occasion to suspect its intention of threatening other states, and it was little in accordance with the purpose and position of the Lower Austrian Trades Union to step forth as a prophet and counsellor in the field of politics. It was therefore clear that they were glad, under pretence of sincere devotion to the imperial dynasty, to seize the opportunity of passing a vote of distrust of the government, in the presence of two permanent members of the state conference, one of whom was the presumptive heir to the throne, and by the acclamation with which it was received, to make the first attempt at a demonstration. The thanks which the archduke returned in the assembly, amidst great applause, in an extempore speech, proved that this attempt was successful; for he, in his goodness of heart, suspecting no evil, was overcome by the assurance that they were willing to risk life and property in the defence of the imperial house.

The courage of the reformers now increased. A few days after this prelude, men of all classes ascended the stage, and

assisted in thousands in completing a petition proposed by the members of the university of Vienna, and the Legal and Political reading club, in which their real objects were more clearly and minutely detailed. In the commencement it stated the desire, which, for many years, every true patriot had felt, and the necessity, so often adverted to in words and speech, of beholding the glorious and mighty land of Austria marching onward in the path of peaceable, but substantial, improvement; then followed the remark, that the late events in the west of Europe rendered it impossible to reject or postpone these demands without endangering the peace of the world, the credit of the state, and the security of property and right in every kingdom. The course which it then behoved Germany to pursue was next pointed out, in order to preserve her against every disaster, and to secure her support and strength at home and abroad, in the firm conviction that Austria, whose rulers had filled the German throne for centuries, could only find real security in a firm union with German interests and German politics. The petitioners then averred their enduring affection and attachment to the high imperial house, as Austrian citizens, and they subjoined, in the discharge of a holy duty, an open and plain exposition of the measures which they considered to be alone calculated to impart new strength and vigour to the government and the empire at large, in the fearful circumstances of the age.

These measures were :—

"The immediate publication of all matters relating to the administration of the state household.

"The periodical convocation of a united assembly of the Estates of all the provinces of the monarchy, representing all classes and interests of the people, with the right of assenting to the taxes, and of controlling the financial

department, and likewise of taking part in the legislation.

"The establishment of a legal status for the press by the introduction of a restriction law; the enactment of a fundamental law of publicity in the administration of justice, and in all government proceedings; the concession of a municipal and commercial charter, adapted to the times; and as a basis for the same, the representation of the agricultural, industrial, commercial, and educated classes, which were imperfectly or not at all represented in the assembly of the Estates." This petition, having in view a radical change in the internal organization of the whole monarchy, was not addressed to the emperor, but to the provincial Estates of one of the smallest provinces of the empire, namely, the Archduchy of Austria below the Enns, with the request that they, as the constitutional organ to meet the wants of the people, would in their next assembly take the proposed measures into consideration, and lay before the throne a proper plan for their immediate execution; a most remarkable proceeding, since it must be observed that the Estates, in their existing condition, could not express the complete sentiments of the country. It is evident, therefore, that a few individuals in Vienna, who were only competent to express their own separate views, and to represent their own individual interests, elected themselves without any authority to be the representatives of the whole Austrian population, and became the bearers of a petition which was destitute of whatever value it might have been entitled to, if it had emanated from the Corporation of the Estates, which body they roundly declared never to have been the complete representatives of the province of Lower Austria, and never to have possessed any authority to submit to the emperor a plan for changing the whole system of government throughout the monarchy.

The connection of the interests of the reigning dynasty with the proposal to divide the government between the sovereign and the people, presented at this moment, when in France the ruling family had been driven out by the people, the appearance of a threat, because there was nothing in the political circumstances of Europe to expose the imperial family of Austria to the apprehension of such a danger. We have already seen that the Trades Union had adopted the same means for exciting terror; their object was, no doubt, to frighten the royal family and their advisers. During the whole of the Austrian revolution, its originators and adherents, over and over again, had recourse to this plan, with dexterity and success, to cripple the power of the government.

It must be ascribed to the fears of the government that the proceedings of the Trades Union on the 6th of March, instead of being met by an order to dissolve or close the union, were responded to by an expression of thanks from the heir to the throne, and that the address of the Austrian citizens in Vienna was allowed in many places to be exposed for the collection of signatures up to the 12th of March without the interference of the Austrian police, who were accused over all Europe of possessing Argus' eyes and vulture's claws. Amongst the many persons who assisted to compile this petition, one individual particularly demands attention, who has distinctly declared his concurrence with the same, appended his whole name, style, and title thereto, John, Baron of Deresenyi, royal and imperial court councillor and referendary of the domains in the General Court Chamber. This declaration was, doubtless, intended to establish, that a royal official by no means violates his duty or his oath in supporting, from motives of individual conviction, such a petition, deeming it consistent with the true and real interests of the people. Such a

declaration was calculated to exercise a great influence upon the whole body of officials, as the man from whom it emanated was the son of one who enjoyed high and powerful patronage, the president of a court office, who had retired in 1840. This may serve as a proof of the observation we have already made, that moral discipline had entirely disappeared amongst the officers of the state.

To the two above-mentioned demands for a reform of the government, both of which were without any legal authority, succeeded a third, on the 12th of March, which was equally illegal, and came from the students of Vienna. These young people, whose pursuit should have been study, allowed themselves to say to the emperor that, according to their conviction, freedom consisted in strongly uniting prince and people, in making them capable of great deeds, and of bearing great trials with fortitude and valour, and that, therefore, the students of Vienna conceived they discharged a sacred duty in declaring their conviction, that the assertion of this freedom was a compulsory obligation in the present critical situation of affairs, on which account they implored the emperor to grant freedom of the press and freedom of speech, for the establishment of mutual confidence and agreement between prince and people, a change in the system of popular instruction, and above all, the introduction of freedom in teaching and learning; an establishment of equality between the members of all religious creeds, publicity and *vivâ voce* management of all legal proceedings; and that these improvements should be especially introduced into such portions of the kingdom as belonged to the German confederation. This petition was brought forward on March 11th, and on the following day (Sunday) it was agreed to in the hall of the university (afterwards the infamous Aula), with the co-operation of many members of the Polytechnic

Institution, at a very boisterous meeting. The advice offered by the director of the political law class produced no effect, for the heads of the young people had been, for a long time previously, no doubt intentionally, too much excited by some of the professors to attend to the dictates of prudence and reason, when other voices demanded the removal of the Austrian government.

When we consider the nature of the demands that were made by the students, involving questions of the most complicated kind, on which the best instructed and most experienced statesmen of all nations are at variance, and which the former considered as settled, we cannot doubt that the presumption and daring of these inexperienced persons arose from their youth, and that they were led astray by an excusable desire "*jurare in verba magistri*;" so that these *magistri*, of whose hostile dispositions towards the government we have already spoken, must be considered the real authors of this petition. In fact, the authority of the university, instead of opposing these proceedings on March 11th, and of supporting the interference of the director on the 12th, rather chose to try a plan of arrangement by promising the excited youths to forward the petition on the same day to the emperor through a deputation. In this deputation the same professor took part who, in the year 1846, chose the seizure of the territory of Cracow as a subject of discussion, to qualify a candidate for a doctor's legal degree, and who endeavoured to screen this offence under the pretence of good intentions, when he was called to account for his conduct.

And this deputation, which was called together by boyish arrogance, notwithstanding that on other occasions deputations even of the Estates had been refused admittance, when the emperor disapproved of the object they had in view, re-

ceived an audience of the absolute emperor in the evening of the very same day, a most unusual time to enjoy such an honour. Was not this a proof that the powers of absolutism were broken by faction, and that the revolution was triumphant? What remained but to circulate the news of this triumph in Vienna? This soon occurred; but before we consider what occurred on those remarkable days, the 13th, 14th, and 15th of March, we must take a glance at the effects which the popular victory in Paris had produced in some other parts of the empire.

We will first direct our attention to Bohemia, where the Estates were preparing themselves for an obstinate struggle in the next Diet, for the re-establishment of their old privileges. Shortly before the month of March, the Bohemians, in pursuance of the terms of their constitution, had received an oberstburggraf as their provincial chief, in the person of Count Rudolf Stadion, who had been governor of Moravian Silesia. In Moravia he had had the good success to overcome the opposition party in the assembly of the Estates. A similar advantage was expected from him in Bohemia, as an accommodation of the dispute about the taxes was an object of the greatest anxiety on the part of the central government.

The minds of the people in Prague were much agitated by two causes; the Estates and their adherents were excited by the struggle in which they were engaged to establish their claims, and the other classes by the jealousy that existed between the Czechs and the Germans.

For a very long time, meetings of the partisans of the Czechs had been held in a favourite hotel, called "Wenzelsbad," the members of which evinced their attachment to their party by the custom of only speaking the Bohemian language at these meetings. Such was

also the practice in many other hotels in Prague, whose proprietors, without possessing much education themselves, in order to further the projects of Czechish literati and officials who resorted thither, endeavoured to prove their national predilections by the practical measures they adopted, of furnishing no refreshments to their guests which were not called for in the Bohemian language. The proprietor of the house, the notorious Faster, obtained by this means the character of a Czechish patriot. As these meetings had neither the appearance of a club, nor were the result of any political object, but seemed to be established to encourage a love for the Bohemian language, literature, and nationality, they were not interfered with by the authorities. But after the news of the proceedings at Paris, their original object either changed altogether, or the inoffensive veil in which it had been enveloped was thrown aside. The effect of those proceedings in Prague was alarming. The first expression of feeling which it called forth showed the opinion which was there entertained of the Austrian government. It was evinced by a run on the branch establishments of the National Bank, to procure payment of the notes of the Central Bank, which bore three per cent. interest; which was, without doubt, a silent but unequivocal vote of distrust.

Many members of the Bohemian Estates resolved in a private meeting to endeavour to procure the convocation of an extraordinary Diet by the oberstburggraf, in order to demand timely concessions from the emperor, amid protestations of the most loyal intentions. A report was soon circulated that a meeting of the citizens was to be held in the above-mentioned hotel of the Wenzelsbad, to prepare an address to the government, on the necessities of the time. Anonymous invitations to attend at the hotel on the 11th

of March, in the evening, which were circulated through the town, reduced these reports to a certainty. At six o'clock in the evening of the appointed day, every room in the Wenzelsbad was filled with guests of the better classes, amongst whom the most prominent members of the Bohemian Trades Union appeared in the most significant manner. The doors were closed against the people and the mere youths, who attended in crowds.

The hotel-keeper, Faster, had the honour of appearing as the spokesman, or as he may be rather designated, on account of his impudence, natural eloquence, and clear-toned voice, the herald of the general sentiments of the assembly. Amid repeated cheers, he read aloud in the Bohemian language, a statement of the following demands, to be embodied in a petition to the throne. Equality in a national point of view between Germans and Bohemians, in schools, courts of justice, and before all the authorities, as well as with regard to the appointment of officials who could speak both languages. A united representation of the Estates of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, the place of meeting to be Brünn and Prague alternately, in which the towns and provinces should be represented. A free communal constitution, with independent administration of their funds, and election of the town magistrates and communal officers. Equality of all religions. Independence of the courts of justice of the district. Publicity and *vivâ voce* proceedings in the same. Complete freedom of the press, under mere restrictive regulations against the abuse thereof. A responsible central government. Abolition of feudal burdens and of privileged courts. Abolition of the robot.* Abolition of the tax upon

* The "Robot" was a customary labour-rent, in payment of which the peasants worked for their lords a certain number of days in the year, according to the extent of the peasant-lands which they held and cultivated for themselves.—Ed.

articles of consumption. Alteration of the stamp and tax laws. Universal liability to military service. Recruiting by ballot. Four years' military service. Security of personal liberty. No imprisonment but by virtue of a judicial sentence. These demands were to be prepared by a committee, and drawn up in the form of an address.

The motion of the hotel-keeper was supported, seconded, and translated into German by a person holding an influential office in the province. His name was Trojan, and he was also one of the most active members of the Bohemian Trades Union. It was adopted by acclamation. They proceeded immediately to elect the members of the committee, upon whom the preparation of the address within eight days was imposed as a duty, in order that the same might be forwarded with a deputation to Vienna. The demands of this petition had a two-fold object, the alteration of the absolute into a representative system of government, and at the same time, the separation of Bohemia and her crown lands in matters of administration from the other parts of the monarchy. That such proposals should have been made in such a manner to the uncontrolled ruler of Austria appears to us a proof that the revolution in Prague, as well as in Vienna, previous to its formal introduction into the palace (on the 13th of March), was already virtually in operation. Even the people themselves in Prague appeared to be of the same opinion, for in the year 1849, the day appointed to be celebrated, as the anniversary of their triumph in the previous year, was not the 13th nor the 15th, but the 11th of March.

The Hungarian Diet assembled at Presburg took advantage at once of the imperious attitude which the people had assumed towards their rulers, upon the overthrow of royalty in Paris, in order to declare openly and decidedly their revolutionary tendencies. As early as the 3rd of March, when

allusion was made by a deputy to the want of confidence in the notes of the Austrian National Bank, which prevailed in Hungary, the result of an intention to bring them into discredit, Kossuth moved the Estates, interrupting the order of the day, that a committee should be appointed to advise the king on the measures demanded by the exigencies of the time. The motion was unanimously carried. A Hungarian councillor of state and magnate, who, before the sitting of the Diet, had with difficulty carried his election as deputy, with the declared intention of putting down the agitator Kossuth in the assembly, regardless of his resolution, supported the motion with the greatest zeal, after a most violent attack upon the government. The warning of Kossuth not to lend the assistance of Hungary, as in the first struggle against the French revolution in 1790, without demanding guarantees for the future welfare of Hungary, was received with general approval.

On the same day the nature of the representation to be made to the king was debated first in the circular, and immediately afterwards in the formal sitting of the Estates. It set out with a charge that the central government had hitherto not pursued a constitutional course, and consequently, could not be in accordance with the independence of the national government or with its constitutional existence. This course had hitherto only prevented the development of the Hungarian constitution, but now it was evident that if it were continued, and the state government should not be brought into unison with the latter, the most dreadful consequences might result to the throne, to the monarchy, which was united to Hungary by the pragmatic sanction, and to the country at large. The reforms in the administration of the home department, and the duty of the Diet in relation thereto, were afterwards set forth ; but a conviction was at

the same time expressed that the constitutional life of Hungary could only be maintained under a real representative system, and that her substantial interests demanded a basis of freedom for their support; that further, the system of defence needed a radical change, and that the direction of the accounts and the responsible management of the Hungarian revenue by the Diet could no longer be refused. As it would be necessary, therefore, to come to an arrangement with the hereditary provinces, the Hungarian Estates were ready to make an advance for that purpose, paying regard, however, to their own independent national rights and interests, and they were convinced that the laws necessary to support the constitutional existence, as well as the intellectual and substantial welfare of the nation, could be set in rigorous operation only by the establishment of a national government, free from every foreign influence, which should, in accordance with the constitutional doctrine, be responsible to and represent a majority of the people. On this account the Estates ought to consider a complete change of the present system of government by boards, for a responsible Hungarian ministry, as the chief condition of, and important guarantee for, all reforms which they were resolved to accomplish in the present Diet, with the support and concurrence of the throne. But as this end was not to be obtained without some disturbance of tranquillity, and symptoms of disturbance were already observable in other provinces of the monarchy, which were united with Hungary by the pragmatic sanction, and these symptoms awakened the greatest apprehension, on account of the unforseen occurrence of recent events in foreign parts, the Hungarian Estates were convinced that the surest protection against all possible misunderstanding and the firmest support of the throne and reigning family would be provided by the throne's

resolving to surround itself with constitutional institutions, in all its important relations, in conformity with the demands of the age. These demands, which contemplated an utter change in the construction of the state edifice, were mingled with allusions to measures already in readiness, and with assurances of unshaken loyalty, these last being compliments invariably appended to petitions of the people. The Board of Magnates, on receiving the resolution of the Estates, at the proposal of the presiding Judex Curiæ, had resolved to postpone the consideration of the question till the return of the Palatine, who was then in Vienna; and when afterwards the question was resumed, on the 14th of March, they wanted courage and resolution to oppose such an address, although many of the magnates, particularly those who belonged to the Hungarian crown provinces, recognized therein the seed of those calamities which subsequently spread through the land, though the terror which the galleries exercised over the rest of the Diet tied their tongues.

With this adoption of Kossuth's motion in both assemblies, the course of the revolution in Presburg began. The ring-leaders stretched forth the hands of brotherhood to their adherents in Vienna, and excited their courage by publicly promising effective assistance in case of need. Hungarian agents, who were joined by Italians, Poles, and Germans, inflamed the heads of the Viennese by speeches and the distribution of money, and excited them to action on the appointed day.

All these commotions might surely have been sufficient to point out to the government the danger that threatened on the approaching meeting of the Estates of Lower Austria, but more direct evidence was added. In the beginning of March an anonymous notice was appended to the door of the house in

which the chief court of justice held its sittings, in which the proclamation of the constitution was announced for the middle of the month. Numerous anonymous letters, filled with threats and warnings, were forwarded to the chancellor of state, and a person filling one of the highest offices in the imperial palace received intimation that there were people working for the establishment of a constitution.

Ladies in the circles of the higher society, whose houses were situated in the neighbourhood of the Diet, gave utterance to their fears about the approaching assembly of the Estates, others were advised by a young physician to prepare for probable disturbances about the middle of March.

On the evening of the 13th, a state official, of high standing, directed the attention of Prince Metternich to the danger which threatened him personally. Several members of a foreign embassy came, without invitation, to the residence of the diplomatist, who resided opposite the assembly-house, in order to have an opportunity of observing from the windows of his residence the nature of a Vienna *émeute*. The president of the government of Lower Austria, who had heard the reports of an approaching outbreak of a plot in Vienna on the 12th of March, held a consultation with the authorities, convened for the preservation of peace and order, as to the nature of the measures to be adopted, but he received the most positive assurances from the chief of these authorities, that nothing was to be feared, and that precautionary measures were unnecessary. It must appear strange that the police of Vienna, whom no one can accuse of blindness or inactivity in cases of political disturbance, made no preparations to prevent the threatened outbreak of the revolution on the 13th of March. We believe that the solution of this mystery is easily found in the description we have already given our readers of the mechanism of the

Austrian government, in the want of independent power in her organs, in their mistaking the effectiveness of the exaggerated popularity of the government, in their unwillingness to appear afraid, and their aversion to forsake their usual course of conduct. They were unwilling, by unusual preventive measures, to encourage the idea that it was possible to attempt a revolution in the capital, and they were content with hoping that the announced demonstrations would dwindle to a mere mob gathering before the assembly-house, and to a cheer for some of the liberal members of the Estates; and that the street excesses which might follow could be easily suppressed by the ordinary means which were always in readiness. This opinion was strengthened by the conduct of the Estates of Lower Austria, for the provincal marshal, the president of that body, who was appointed by the emperor without their nomination, and enjoyed the perfect confidence of the government and their court, considered no other precaution necessary beyond proposing that the members should come to the assembly, not arrayed in their state robes, as was customary, but dressed as citizens, without display, in order not to attract the attention of the people.*

* The pamphlet entitled "Die Nieder Oesterreischischen Landstände und die Genesis, etc.," reported to be published under the auspices of some of the members of the Estates of Lower Austria before March, expresses its surprise at the total neglect of preventive measures, and remarks, at page 24, as follows: "We shall not give credit to the rumour, that the government, in allowing, after a protracted discussion, the assembly of the Estates to be held, had secretly no other object in view than to avail itself of an opportunity for a *coup d'état*, by seizing the ringleaders of the movement amongst the Estates, and that for this purpose even the warrants had been issued."

The allusion to this rumour, which never became public, and probably merely circulated among the partisans of the Estates in the shape of vague apprehensions, induces me to observe how little the government *before* the 13th of March was compelled to take refuge in a *coup d'état* as regards the leaders of that movement amongst the Estates, there being nothing to prevent all such parties as seemed dangerous

We must confess that the ignorance of the true state of things, and the want of foresight exhibited by those whose duty it was to adopt measures for the preservation of order, cannot be justified. But we believe a consideration of the attendant circumstances will, in some measure, palliate their inactivity, as it was the result, not of their own choice, but of overruling events. Intentional treachery cannot be imputed to them; they were, doubtless, true servants of the emperor, but no doubt unequal to the demands of the time.*

That greyheaded statesman, who, on the 13th of March,

from being taken into custody by the ordinary police. If the government had intended to make use of the assembly of the Estates of the 13th of March as a mere trap, it would certainly have taken the proper steps for seizing its prey when in the snare. That rumour is of importance as indicating *the apprehension of the partisans of the Estates*. How could such an alarm have arisen, if they had not been aware that some men of high station were informed of what was to take place in that assembly? Why did not those persons cause some preventive measures to be adopted? What was the ground of their remaining inactive spectators, as the artifice above alluded to could not be the cause? We are probably not mistaken in supposing that those who knew of the unusual agitation which was to be expected in the next assembly of the Estates of Lower Austria, did not, however, perceive the full extent and bearing of that agitation. They merely anticipated that, like an electric shock, it would stimulate the relaxed organs of the state to more vigorous action and accelerate desirable changes, both of men and measures, without endangering the principle of pure monarchy and social order. Such an illusion, however lamentable it may have been in its consequences, ought nevertheless to be excused, as even the assembled Estates both of Lower Austria and of Bohemia had no notion that their agitation would lead to the overthrow of all existing institutions.

* The hatred against those men manifested up to this very hour by the daily press of Austria furnishes the most striking proof of their faithfulness. One of them who, since the 14th of March, 1848, had lived far from Vienna in quiet retirement, and who, in June 1850, only set foot in that city as he was passing through it, became immediately, and owing to that circumstance, the object of base attacks in the Viennese journals. The art of building barricades and dexterity in cat's-music was imported from Paris into Vienna; but indulgence towards the supporters of fallen systems of government, Vienna has still to learn from Paris, where the press does not delight in calumniating statesmen who now only belong, as such, to history.

declared that he had played out his part, and whose task it had been through life to watch the political horizon far beyond the circuit of the Austrian monarchy, had long foreseen the impending danger to which the monarchy then fell a prey. At home and abroad, those persons to whom he unfolded his views, and they are not few, can confirm this statement. He always denounced the non-governing system as the chief evil of the state, and as originating in the confounding of administration with government. The existence of this evil was evident to him, and if his influence over the administration of the interior had been as powerful as the imperfectly-informed public believed, a remedy (but only in the monarchical sense) would long previously have been the result. It had by no means escaped his observation, that where this great fault does exist, kingdoms may continue to pursue their weary course without being outwardly disturbed, according to all appearance, until the authority which has been left unexercised, and which will always find itself a channel, falls from the hands of the highest into those of the lower classes, and an abnormal commotion amongst those classes who, with or without design, have occupied the sphere of government, leads at once to revolution. Those persons with whom Prince Metternich has ever been on terms of intimacy, will remember these and similar observations to have been used by him. They will serve to show that he was conscious of the danger, and unceasingly spoke of the evil of neglecting it. Sins of omission in the sphere of government he considered as sure to avenge themselves the most severely, and their consequences to be the most pernicious in regular governments, from their not being discovered until the governing power has given way; for states, like all machines which require a "vis motrix" for their operation, after this has disappeared, may pro-

ceed for a given time, in virtue of their first impulse, but the moment of their stoppage soon arrives, and it is the moment of their death. If practical importance had been attributed to these views of the chancellor of state, the movement in favour of the sovereignty of the people in the year 1848, which, resulting, according to our conviction, from the French revolution, did not spare Austria, would at least have found the government provided with better means of resistance, and would have been less destructive in its effects. Convinced as we are that the danger we have alluded to was not unperceived by the chancellor, it might seem at first sight astonishing that, notwithstanding and in spite of positive warnings, the events of March 13th came upon him by surprise. But this apparent contradiction will disappear, by drawing a proper distinction between apprehensions for the distant future, and perceptions of evil which has already commenced. Metternich foresaw that a catastrophe could not be avoided, but he could not convince himself that it would soon occur; because that branch of the government, whose duty it was to watch the sentiments of the people, to mark their evident tendencies, to prevent party excesses, and to warn the emperor of approaching danger, expressed no apprehension, although they were not ignorant of the threats and notices which reached the chancellor. Upon him, such efforts to intimidate, and such expressions of hatred or sympathy, were wholly unavailing; for, during the long period which intervened between the Vehmgericht,* to which Sand had lent his arm as the executioner of Kotzebue, and the days of March, in Vienna, he had

* "Vehmgericht" was a secret tribunal of criminal justice peculiar to Westphalia during the Middle Ages, held by private individuals, without the authority of the state, when the government was too weak to act for itself. The last regular Vehmgericht was held at Celle, in 1568.—Ed.

become so accustomed to notices of such a nature, that they no longer gave him uneasiness ; they did not move the courage or determination of the man who felt himself conscientiously bound not to swerve from the maxims which the world declared and insisted were his, and which his understanding compelled him to adopt as the very source of existence to the Austrian government. And so it might well happen, that to the distant prophet the approaching danger was not perceptible on the evening of the 13th of March. One may, perhaps, here observe, that he resembled that astrologer who, while his eyes were employed in reading remote dangers in the stars, was blind to the precipice beneath his feet, into which he accordingly fell. We are satisfied to adopt the simile, and answer, it was not the fault of the astrologer, if his guides, whose duty it was to warn him of the earthly precipice, whilst he, in discharge of his vocation, was lost in contemplating distant objects, did not themselves perceive the danger. The police authorities and the home administration should have been his leaders, but they failed in their duty ; whether it happened that their dim vision could not distinguish the brink of the precipice, or that their imprudence overlooked the real moment of danger. Their arm afterwards lacked the power to save him in the act of falling, as, perhaps, they had fondly imagined they could do—they fell together with him.

CHAPTER IV.

THE 13TH, 14TH, AND 15TH OF MARCH, 1848, IN VIENNA.

On the 13th of March, at nine o'clock in the morning, the students, dressed in proper costume and without weapons, proceeded to the house of the Estates, and drew themselves up in front of it; a crowd of inquisitive persons followed them. The streets and even the court were filled with people who did not belong to the lower classes, and who were allured thither and harangued by some students who were chiefly Poles, assisted by others of similar opinions with their own. The members of the Estates in the mean time took their seats in their hall. A conversation was soon commenced from the windows of the assembly-room with the votaries of the muses, who thronged together in the courtyard. The provincial marshal and several members of the Estates zealously encouraged this mutual understanding, which was carried on amid continued shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" A Pole soon afterwards came into the street from a door of the assembly-house in a state of great excitement, holding a written paper in his hand, and immediately set the whole crowd in motion.*

* This paper, as the "Nieder Oesterreischischen Landstände und die Genesis, &c.," tells us, had been thrown into the courtyard by a person who had forced his entrance into the assembly of the Estates; and it proposed that the people should not rest satisfied with what the assembled Estates should demand. We learn from the same pamphlet (page 25), that the order of the day embraced three projects of an address to the emperor, all of which referred to *the common interests of all the provinces of the monarchy.*

The first demanded the convocation of the representatives of all the

Did it arise from a feeling of indifference in the assembly of the Estates, or from sympathy with the mob outside, that

provincial Estates, to be completed with men from those corporations and other political elements which were not represented, in order to examine the financial condition of the state, and to propose measures calculated to establish permanently *general confidence*, by placing the public finances on a secure footing, and by developing indisputably the representative system of the country.

The second address supported the petition of *Austrian citizens* to the Estates of Lower Austria, alluded to in the previous chapter.

The third requested of the emperor to effect an union of all the German federal states, under a common law of the press, with the abolition of the censorship, and the adoption of a system for repressing abuses.

There was, however, added to these long-prepared projects of an address another subject for the order of the day, namely, an imperial cabinet letter, first published in the before-mentioned pamphlet, which, on the evening of the 12th of March, had been directed to the high chancellor, and which the emperor had also communicated to the provincial marshal, Count Montecucoli. (See No. 3 of the Appendix.) The imperial resolutions announced in this letter harmonized in the most essential parts with the demands which the Estates of Lower Austria intended to lay at the foot of the throne. Was this important concession of the sovereign not read aloud, or was it not listened to in the assembly of the Estates? One or other of these results must have occurred, for there would have been, beyond a doubt, persons amongst the Estates who would have recognized a most undoubted guarantee of the honest wish of the emperor in regard to a suitable reform of the system of government in the resolution which he had freely adopted, "*of uniting the representatives of the various provinces into one body, who should be consulted with reference to the relations of the Estates and the requirements of the moment, and to whom, if necessary, the assistance of the entire body of the various provincial Estates should be granted.*" The prorogation of the assembly of Estates, which commenced under the influence of a riotous mob, ought to have been the first fruit of the announcement of the emperor's honest wishes; it ought to have followed that announcement out of respect for the other provincial Estates, which, according to the emperor's wish, were henceforth to take into consideration the general interests of the empire in conjunction with the estates of Lower Austria. On what grounds could the latter claim as their prerogative to press forward as the mouth-piece of all the Estates? It is an undoubted fact that many of the members who were present in the assembly were not made acquainted with the important imperial cabinet paper of the 12th of March, 1848, before its appearance in the pamphlet, "Die Nieder Oesterreichischen Landstände, &c." We have also acquired the conviction that this document had laid on the table of the houses of assembly on the morning of the 13th of March, and was left altogether unnoticed.

they were induced to prolong their sittings in spite of the popular demonstration, which every moment increased, in place of adjourning the meeting and separating one by one as they had assembled, upon such indications of a near approaching storm? They continued together until the crowd, fanaticised by some orators, who suspected a stratagem from the accidental shutting of a door, rushed violently from the court into the assembly-room, and tearing up the seats, chairs, and benches, put an end to the meeting by such acts of outrage.* At the same time the people thronged to the Ball-place, before the house of the state chancellor, and to the other squares, where agitators, elevated on the shoulders of others or standing on the pumps, insisted on the necessity of wresting by force from their rulers those objects which had either been already obtained by the inhabitants of neighbouring countries, or were at that moment the object of similar struggles. The passing military, not being required by the magistracy to interfere by force of

This disregard of so important a letter, which is to us so inexplicable, at first created the impression in our mind that the emperor's letter of the 12th, by some delay in its delivery, had not yet reached the assembly on the 13th of March, and therefore, in describing the occurrences of that day, ought not to be taken into account. As we never had the honour of being classed among "the men of confidence" of the Estates for Lower Austria, our first erroneous impression may be excused. But we cannot help smiling at the suspicion which has been excited against us, of having in our first and second editions of "Genesis" made no mention of that imperial letter, "in order to preserve in oblivion that most unsuccessful note of the State Conference, as if it were the song of the dying swan." We are inclined to believe that this *oblivion* would be desirable only in the interest of the Estates which made professions of their loyalty; for how can the *entire failure* of the song of the dying swan be made to agree with such professions?

* We think it our duty to observe that the pamphlet, "Die Nieder-Oesterriechischen Landstände und die Genesis," corrected this statement by saying "that at the rushing in into the assembly, it did not happen as mentioned in 'Genesis,' that chairs and benches, &c., were broken in the hall, but that in one of the adjoining saloons the benches broke under the weight of those standing on them."

arms, necessarily remained quiet spectators of the commotion, or at most could only act on the defensive, in resisting the pressure of the mob upon themselves.

The moment, when the sitting of the Estates was interrupted by the intruders, marked precisely the point of departure from a street brawl to a revolution. Had the Estates decided that, in consequence of the violent interruption of their meeting, they could neither consider nor adopt any further public measures, and that, therefore, they must postpone their debates until the restoration of tranquillity, and commit the conduct of affairs to the authorities appointed for the preservation of order, and then dissolved themselves, they would have reduced the character of the insurrection to a mere ordinary disturbance, for the temporary suppression of which at that moment the means at hand would have been undoubtedly sufficient had they been employed by the Estates for their protection, since the disturbance had not then extended to the other parts of the town or the suburbs. But the resolution of the Estates to lay the demands of the people before the emperor without delay, and with the provincial marshal at their head to march in a body to the castle, with a promise that they would announce the decision of the emperor to the expectant multitude, imparted to the tumult a grave political importance, since it was no longer a self-willed mob with which the authorities had now to deal, but at the head of this mob stood the Corporation of the Estates of Lower Austria, who had made the business their own, and had taken advantage of their right to petition in order to call on the sovereign to change the existing order of things, in conformity with the spirit of the age, and who supported this demand with their whole political weight, relying upon the concurrence of the Estates of the other provinces, in accordance with

their well-known sentiments. It no longer remained for the authorities, it was for the sovereign alone now to act.

When the Estates reached the castle, the permanent State Conference, with the addition of some members of the State Council, were actually engaged in considering the events of the day. At this critical moment the want of a properly-organized ministerial council was very keenly felt; no member of the superior executive power (president of the court offices) assisted at the consultation. None of those present was invested with executive authority, and therefore no resolution could be promptly acted upon with the common consent of all those engaged in the discussion.

The Estates submitted the demands of the people to the assembled council of the emperor, more in the character of mediators than as petitioners on their own account, and begged for a prompt and favourable decision, merely for the sake of public peace and the preservation of the throne from threatened danger. It was a prudent step on their part to adopt the character of mediators, since they were thus protected from responsibility on the score of participating in the disturbance in case of failure, and were sure of obtaining their own desires by the concessions which should be granted nominally to the people. The emperor was now in one of those difficult positions which sometimes occur in life, where one's conduct, should the event prove favourable, is rather the result of inspiration than of a careful consideration of all possible chances that may occur. The immediate answer, "Those who send you are rebels, and you who undertake this mission are partners in the rebellion, whom I will put down with a strong hand;" or a reply on the other hand to this effect, "I have already taken proper measures to give my people the freest institutions in Germany, and we will consider together, without delay, the best mode of fulfilling these my inten-

tions; convey this decision to those who sent you, and bid them take heed how they bring upon themselves the arm of just punishment by disturbing the public peace:" one or other of such answers would have put an end at once to the threatened danger, but they were compatible only with the personal decision of a wholly irresponsible ruler, who could rely for support on his own unchangeable determination; no board of councillors could propose such answers in any state, since a council must, in its proposals, follow the dictates of cool calculation, and not obey mere inspiration, which varies much according to individual character, and often leaves us to our own resources. The Austrian State Conference, therefore, must not be censured for having offered advice to the emperor, which elicited no such decisive language. We must place ourselves in the condition of men who are clearly sensible of some of the faults of the existing government, and have an indistinct perception of others, and then consider whether, in support of such a government, a war should have been commenced; whose issue, moreover, could not possibly be foreseen, on account of the difficulty of calculating the magnitude of the opposing forces. At the head of the army stood an imperial prince, young, talented, courageous, and active, but inexperienced in war, and to whom, in truth, as his first essay in the career of generalship, one would not willingly intrust that most difficult of all the duties of war, viz. the conduct of a street battle against an excited people. The daily occurrences in the Austrian monarchy and its several provinces must have occasioned a doubt, whether the insurrection could have been actually suppressed or merely postponed by a momentary victory obtained in the palace at the cost of torrents of blood. There seemed to be a natural connection between the forcible entry of a fanatical mob into the imperial castle,

which was in no respect prepared for resistance, and the flight of the royal family of Orleans, which had occurred in Paris scarcely three weeks previously. A bold stroke, which a daring ruler might undertake from his own impulse, was more than the considerate advisers of Ferdinand ventured to propose. The councillors of the emperor were just as incompetent to suggest an answer of the second kind. Every man may surrender as much as he pleases of his own rights, but the protector of another's rights should never advise the sacrifice of more than is required by the strictest necessity. To a deliberative body the change of an absolute monarchy into a constitutional form of government could never be regarded as a necessary result of a demonstration made not only without an appeal to arms, but even by unarmed men. It seemed, however, indispensable, under any circumstances, that an attempt should be made to appease the storm with the smallest possible sacrifice. Whoever considers, without prejudice, the posture of affairs in the afternoon of the 13th of March, must admit that the plan proposed by the State Conference was the only one morally possible. They obtained from the emperor an assurance, which they were to communicate to the Estates of Lower Austria, to this effect: "That whatever the present emergencies might require should be submitted to a committee to be appointed for the purpose, and then laid before the emperor, and that his majesty would then speedily decide what was meet, having regard to the general welfare of the whole of his beloved subjects. And his majesty further relied on the attachment and unimpaired fidelity of the people of the capital for the establishment and future maintenance of peace." This imperial assurance was given orally to the Estates of Lower Austria; and furthermore, the president of the Lower Austrian government, being summoned for that

purpose, was commissioned to give public notice of the same by a proclamation of his own ; and further, to take care that the civil authorities, in their official costume, should require the people three times to disperse peaceably before the military power was brought out for that purpose. The commencement of the proclamation announced "that the Estates of Lower Austria, with the laudable intention of tranquillizing the excited population, had proved their readiness to lay their desires before the emperor, and that his majesty had been graciously pleased to receive them." It was intended by this that the character which the Estates had undertaken of mediators, should be made known, and that the idea should be abandoned that they shared the popular sentiments, which idea had made them the bearers of the petition, because the hope was generally indulged that the Estates would materially influence the leaders of the popular movement. But the hope was fallacious. The proclamation failed in its effect. The Estates, in public opinion, were considered not only the bearers but the representatives of the petition they carried (and this was quite in accordance with the maxim "vox populi vox Dei"), but the popular leaders expected a weightier and more decided result from their influence. The still increasing mob, who awaited their return with impatience, was not satisfied ; its impatience and anger at the military, who watched its motions, increased every minute, until at length the soldiers, pressed hard at some points, in order to remain masters of their post and to defend themselves from personal attacks, had recourse to their arms. The number of those who were killed, partly in this manner and partly by injuries arising from the pressure of the mob, was estimated at seventeen, and amongst them was one of the most active popular orators, a Jewish student named Spitzer, who was wounded in the head with

a sword in an attempt to deprive a soldier of his horse, that he might mount it himself and parade the town, and so from an eminence address his audience with greater effect. When one hears these unfortunate beings spoken of as heroes who fell fighting for the liberties of the people, one scarcely grudges them this small share of fame, in their graves, bestowed as a tribute by their friends; but it has no foundation in fact, for without fighting there can be no hero, and there was no fighting. There was an accident, it is true, like that which happened some years ago in an Italian town at a theatrical representation which took place in an arena. The disapprobation of the spectators was expressed louder than usual at the badness of the acting, and the persons whose duty it was to preserve order considered themselves justified in firing a volley. Some individuals fell a sacrifice, but it never entered the heads of any one to maintain that they were heroes who had fallen in defence of the liberty of hissing.

The deaths which occurred in Vienna on the 15th of March are the more to be deplored because they tended in no degree to forward the wishes of the people, and they either resulted from the hardihood of a few individuals, who ventured to insult the military, or else they arose from accident; at all events, they furnished the evil-disposed with a new pretext for abusing the government and exciting the passions of the people.

In the course of the afternoon a strong body of journeyman mechanics issued from the suburbs, celebrating the festivities of blue Monday, as it is termed; they entered the town unarmed, and thronged towards the castle. The members of the civic guard likewise appeared there in uniform, the officers of which corps were allowed the *entrée* to the rooms on court festivals; the honourable uniform which

they wore procured them admission to the castle, from which they would otherwise have been excluded by the military. These persons also played the part of mediators, and under this title sought an audience of the emperor. But his majesty, deeply shocked at the events of the day, had retired. His uncle, the Archduke Louis, received them, and heard, with his customary tranquillity and kindness, their vows of attachment to the imperial house, their prognostications of the approaching danger, their wild plans for resisting its approach, and even their very grievances, which last were confined to a misunderstanding that had taken place at the door of a police office, in consequence of which the police soldiers, drawn up there, had fired on a body of citizens in uniform, who were in the act of approaching too near. It is remarkable that the grievance seemed to consist, not so much in the actual firing, as in the shots having been directed against the citizens; the warmth of the spokesman caused a distinguished military officer who was present to observe, "that when citizens became rebels, even they must be fired upon." The spokesman thereupon fell into such a rage, that he rushed into the ante-room, shouting, "that he would go down and announce to the faithful and loyal citizens of Vienna that they were to be shot." Some considerate individuals, however, succeeded in seizing and restraining the excited man. He was a well-known wine-merchant, and seems on that day to have made too free with his own commodities.

The members of the Estates, who had previously acted as mediators, now united themselves with the citizens, and appeared again in the same capacity. They unanimously insisted on the necessity of appeasing the excited mob, by paying immediate attention to some of their demands, as the population of the suburbs and of the neighbouring vil-

lages already took part in the general tumult. But what those demands exactly were, the fulfilment of which would allay the storm, it was not so easy to ascertain, in consequence of the confusion and disturbance which reigned around.

Meanwhile night approached. Like the *Moor*, in Schiller's *Fiesco*, who, when he had lent all the assistance in his power to his master's design to strip old *Doria* of the ducal mantle, in the evening began to think of making something for himself and his adherents; so the people of Vienna were willing to close that day of commotion, in whose noon-tide business they had taken part, by turning the evening to their own account. Bands of robbers and murderers over-awed the suburbs and the neighbourhood; rumours of the most alarming kind were circulated through the town. A forcible attack was made on the shop of the court apothecary, a building which was connected with the castle by a passage, in order, as is supposed, to force an entry through that undefended way into that part of the castle which was close to the apartment inhabited by the emperor.

At that critical moment, a third set of mediators appeared before the Archduke Louis, viz. the academical senate of the university, with their grey-headed "rector magnificus" at their head, distinguished by the colane* appended from his neck. It was the object of this deputation to make a positive request, viz. for permission that the students might take weapons from the imperial arsenal, and hasten to the suburbs, to stop the dreadful attacks which were there making upon life and property. The proposal to put arms in the hands of the very persons who, when unarmed, had been the promoters of disturbance during the whole day, must have

* "Colane," the badge of office worn by the rector.

occasioned some surprise. But, after a long negotiation, the rector of the university threw himself on his knees before the archduke, and implored him to confide in these young men : two thousand of them, he said, the hope of so many families, were filled with such enthusiasm, that, if attacked, they were ready to fling themselves blindly on the bayonets of their opponents ; what streams of noble blood would then flow : an opportunity now offered to avoid this danger, by giving their ardour a proper direction ; they burned with anxiety to prove their readiness to defend order and right ; the military were too few, and already wearied by the exertions of the day, to resist the threatened danger with success : why, therefore, should they not, in defence of property, avail themselves of the willingness and youthful energy of the students? Let them only be trusted, and they would show that they were fully worthy of such confidence.

This address of the old man, delivered with enthusiasm, could not fail in its effect on the noble and benevolent spirit of the Archduke Louis. The request was first orally granted, and subsequently a proper order was drawn up by a secretary, addressed to the authorities, to the following effect :— "That for the preservation of peace and order, the arming of the students (with the exception of foreigners) should be permitted, under proper regulations." The order was handed to the assembled members of the State Conference for perusal. Those members of the Estates who had appeared in the capacity of mediators were present in the room during the above negotiation. One of them took up the order, and (with a pencil) added the following sentence, as an amendment :—"It is further expected that all citizens will lend their aid to the above, by enrolling themselves in the civic guard, and will assist in the preservation of peace." And this amendment, though introduced by an unauthorised hand, was considered

so much a matter of course, and so unimportant in its meaning, that it was not opposed.

In this manner the arming of the people was unadvisedly introduced in the capital.

Scarcely was it effected, before the mediators from the Estates, and the citizens who still lingered in the chambers of the archduke, raised a loud cry for the liberty of the press. It happened by accident that, on the 13th of March, the royal order of the Prussian cabinet, which was issued on the 8th of the same month, appeared in the Vienna newspapers, with a royal decree for a reform in the laws of the press, based upon the abolition of the censorship. With this example before them, which was set, moreover, by that power of Germany which had ever been most friendly to the Austrian maxims of government, a resistance to the popular demand did not seem advisable: moreover, as we have already said, in our sketch of the Austrian state machine, the censorship in Austria had failed in its effect; no voice, therefore, in the State Conference could recommend a contest in support of the censorship; on the contrary, it was deemed prudent to yield to the demand, precisely as it had been acceded to by the Prussian government. The chancellor retired to the adjoining cabinet, and placed himself at his desk, to prepare the sketch of an answer, in the spirit of the Prussian order, to be laid before the emperor. The leaders of the people having now secured offensive and defensive weapons, both for the hand and head, availed themselves of this momentary absence, to get rid of the man whose character, principles, experience, and authority would have checked all excess in the use of those weapons. In a decisive tone, they demanded, that, to appease the people, Prince Metternich should retire from his post. The increasing tumult in the adjoining room called the chancellor back from his desk;

he approached the archduke, and asked what the noise meant. He was informed that his own retirement was proposed. This was the moment when all the strength of soul which distinguished that great man, was put to the proof. To leave a post which he had filled with the greatest renown for nine-and-thirty years, in which he had earned the confidence not only of the whole imperial house, but of all the rulers of Europe, and had taken an influential part in the most important affairs of the world ; to witness the clouds of incense in which he had been enveloped, by sincere as well as by hypocritical reverence, suddenly dispersed by a gust of wind ; to reap the basest ingratitude in return for his ceaseless exertions to promote the interests of the state and the welfare of his fellow-citizens ; all this was doubtless calculated to waken feelings in an old veteran, so bitter in their effect, that one could hardly have been surprised, if he had sunk under their weight. But such was not the case. With unmoved tranquillity and dignified composure, he declared, "that the task of his life had been to work for the welfare of the monarchy, in the position which he occupied ; but if it appeared to any that his continuing in the same would peril the monarchy, he would consider it no sacrifice to retire from his post." He then turned to the Archduke Louis, and said, he placed his office in the hands of the emperor. He then addressed the leaders of that mixed assembly which on that eventful evening besieged the palace of the archduke, in the following memorable words of farewell :—"I foresee, too plainly, that a false opinion will spread abroad, that in retiring from my post I have dragged down the monarchy along with me. But I enter my solemn protest against such an assertion. Neither I nor any other man has strength enough to destroy a state. Empires may vanish, but only when they betray themselves." The deportment

of the venerable statesman, when confronting the fury of his enemies, cannot be better described than in the words of the Roman poet :—

Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium
* * * * * * *
Mente quatit solidâ :
* * * * * * *
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

In remarkable contrast with this magnanimity of soul was the deportment of his exulting foes. On hearing the news of his retirement, they shouted with triumph, and hastened to convey the joyful intelligence to the mob, whose representatives they were.

The chancellor, who had so suddenly and so unexpectedly closed his political career, was so little moved by this change of circumstances, that he discoursed for a long time with his friends in his customary manner over the events of the day and their consequences, as if he himself had been by no means personally interested in them. The observation of some friends, that his retirement from the helm of the state could not be considered as certain, since the emperor had not given his consent, which he would probably withhold, elicited the decisive answer, "That he would never agree to retain his place in such a manner, as his retirement would then be looked upon as a mere farce, to which he would be no party; that his decision was taken, and nothing could change it but the entreaties of those who had occasioned its adoption."

Thus ended the 13th of March, the day on which the virtual revolution which, as we have shown, commenced long before, was formally proclaimed in the capital. The

events of this day were,—"An acknowledgment of the necessity of timely reforms, with an assurance that they would be immediately considered and speedily introduced by the emperor; the arming of the students and citizens of Vienna; the determination to grant freedom of the press after the example of Prussia; and the removal of the most distinguished opponent of the sovereignty of the people." During the night many thousand stands of fire-arms were distributed with the greatest speed to the students and other inhabitants of Vienna from the imperial and city arsenals, without any regard to the personal character of the applicants. All who were armed in this manner laid claim to the honour of being ready to march against the bands of robbers in the suburbs and beyond the limits of Vienna.

On the morning of the 14th of March the streets were again filled with men. The suddenly-equipped City-guard assembled in the neighbourhood of the castle. They were sensible that the consent to their establishment wore the appearance of a measure suddenly required by the emergency of the times, and that they had thus no guarantee for their continuance. Under the advice and guidance, therefore, of experienced advisers, their exertions were directed to procuring for themselves a character of stability. On this account they preferred the double request, that they might assume the title of National Guard, and have a commander in the person of one of the imperial princes (the Archduke William). Neither of these requests was approved of by the council of the emperor. The first failed, because it was thought that the arming of the students and citizens under a momentary pressure for the maintenance of peace in Vienna ought to receive a title adapted to the local origin and object in view. But the question, whether a measure which might be necessary for Vienna should at once be converted into a

national institution, was a point not discussed, nor likely to be discussed in times of such disturbance, and demanded, at all events, the most careful consideration, especially in regard to the Italian provinces, where the revolutionary party placed their chief strength in the arming of the people. For these reasons, the title of "the Vienna Civic Guard" was adopted as unobjectionable. The second request failed, because, on the morning of the 14th of March, the Archduke Albert had resigned the command of the troops to Prince Windischgrätz, who happened accidentally to be present in Vienna, because it was not considered advisable that there should be an immediate connection between one of the imperial princes and an excited people. The citizens, therefore, withdrew their second request, but with regard to the first they would not accept a refusal. Accordingly, the mediators of the previous day again volunteered their interference. Whether it arose from short-sightedness or fear, or was a fixed plan, they maintained that the title given to the newly-raised body was a matter of unimportance, and not worth the danger to the throne which might result from a contention on the subject. Persons high in office, and aristocrats in the strictest sense of the word, were of this opinion, without reflecting that the very obstinacy with which the people, under the guidance of their leaders and seducers, insisted on the title of "National Guard," must have had some deep design at the bottom. They succeeded, however, in obtaining the emperor's consent. Count Hoyos, field marshal and colonel of the rifles, was appointed to be commander of the national guards. On the first announcement of this news in Vienna, the magic effect of a title which had been represented as wholly unimportant, was at once apparent, for, with the exception of the governor of Galicia, Count Francis Stadion, no land chief could prevent

the people from considering the arming the people of Vienna as a national institution, consented to by the emperor, to be adopted everywhere without restriction. The consequence of this was, that the effective power of the authorities in opposition to the people was sensibly weakened.

Thus the possession of all material means for fighting the battle of freedom was secured to the people.

It now only remained to place moral weapons in the hands of the people. On the 13th of March it had been resolved to grant the liberty of the press; but in this measure the peaceful example of Prussia was to be followed, and with the removal of the censorship, certain measures were to be introduced for the purpose of repressing abuses. Even as early as the 14th, the State Conference was engaged in framing the intended measures. But a peaceful transition from the tyranny of the censorship to the freedom of the press by no means satisfied either the domestic or foreign demagogues, who were the leaders of the popular disturbances, any more than the vain and speculative literati, or the students who were under their control. The censorship must be instantly abolished. They united all their efforts to excite the mob of Vienna, whose throats and vigorous arms they needed for the furtherance of their own objects, to a pitch of enthusiasm in favour of the liberty of the press. Although the mob did not enjoy the reputation of being able to set a very high value on those intellectual enjoyments which the liberty of the press secures, they became, nevertheless, so enthusiastic for the possession of these unknown benefits, that their violent conduct became even more alarming than it had been on the previous day.

The mediating friends of the throne and the dynasty now discovered a new field for the exercise of their activity. They intruded into the antechambers of the emperor to offer

their well-meant advice. But the wise resolution had been adopted, that the sovereign should not treat personally with riotous petitioners and threateners, and their admission was therefore refused by the chamberlain on duty. Regardless of the prohibition, they sought to force a way into the chamber. The officer, a noble Hungarian magnate, remembered and respected the duty to which he was sworn, and standing in the doorway with his hand upon his sword, vowed in a firm tone that while he occupied that post no one should cross the threshold. The mediators retired, and, finding a back entrance, they succeeded in laying their benevolent apprehensions and proposals before the emperor. Shortly afterwards it was announced publicly, "That his majesty had been pleased to decree the abolition of the censorship, and the immediate publication of a law to regulate the press!"

Shouts of joy re-echoed amongst the masses, for the leaders of the mob saw themselves in possession of the physical and moral means necessary to establish the sovereignty of the people. In their intoxication of joy they resolved to decorate the statue of the Emperor Joseph II. with a crown of flowers, and to fasten a banner to his brazen hand bearing the inscription, "Liberty of the Press." Those who acted thus, forgot the short duration of the concessions which this philosophic emperor had himself made to the spirit of the age, otherwise they would assuredly not have allowed the announcement of such a boon to glitter in the very hand which had formerly deprived them of a similar blessing! But the popular joy arose not so much from the favours already obtained as from the certain prospect of achieving a triumph which was already announced by a thousand voices in the streets, though it had not yet been proposed to the emperor by any of the mediators, as an indispensable condition for the salvation of the monarchy and the dynasty,—viz., the granting a constitu-

tion. Every one exclaimed in the streets that the national guard and freedom of the press had been obtained bit by bit, and that the rest would soon follow.

The sagacious leaders of the revolution were aware that in the word "constitution" was included the destruction of all the elements of the subsisting government, and they knew that even the hasty and inconsiderate use of the expression itself in presence of the throne would excite the government to resist its introduction by every means in their power. It was therefore necessary to proceed more quietly, and with greater caution than had been observed in introducing those other partial and popular measures, which seemed to have arisen from the very circumstances of the time. It was especially requisite to prevent the populace from abandoning themselves to excess of joy at the achievements of the day, lest, whilst they reposed on their laurels, they should disregard their hazardous situation, which might, perhaps, demand further services from the mediators. The manner in which the imperial resolution with regard to the press was drawn up, gave occasion to this suspicion, and was turned very cleverly to account. The favourite term, "Liberty of the Press," was not employed therein, although the substance of that expression was included in the abolition of the censorship, and in the introduction of a law to regulate the press. But the intelligence of the Vienna people was not sufficiently advanced to recognize this truth. And upon this the leaders of the disturbance constructed their plan: they endeavoured to misrepresent the intentions of the emperor, and started the idea, that only the laws of the existing censorship were abolished, and that the press would remain still fettered by the laws which it was intended to enact. To the joy of the people now succeeded a feeling of disappointment, which was rendered more acute by the idea that they had been deluded

and deceived. The intensity of this feeling may be estimated by the fact that, on the following day, when every demand had been acceded to, the publishers of Vienna circulated a manifesto declaring that, in order to put an end to improper and malicious reports which asserted that the liberty of the press had not been granted in the real meaning of the word, they were determined to exercise the privilege of a free press, and to call on all the intelligent classes in the monarchy, by an active participation in such freedom, to establish the welfare of their country and the peace of the community.

The misunderstanding which was kept alive by this means served as a sufficient ground for continuing to advise that all the still subsisting causes of danger should be removed. But this was done, not as formerly through numerous deputations to the emperor himself, or to the State Conference, but by means of more wary and cautious applications indirectly to the presumptive heir to the throne, in the confident expectation that if they could succeed in making him friendly to a constitution, and in rendering him its advocate, he would not meet with any strong opposition from his brother or his advisers, being himself the immediate successor. This manœuvre was supported by circulating the most fearful reports of alarming assemblages in the suburbs of the town. A notorious theatrical poet, who was at the head of the political regenerators, and had succeeded some time before in introducing a play on the boards of the Burg Theatre, which ridiculed the government, and even the highest personage in the state, rushed, as if panic-struck, into the Burg, and wrote down in an ante-room the announcement that an excited mob was approaching. It was due to the calm and correct apprehension of Prince Windischgrätz, and to his cool presence of mind, intrusted

as he was with the safety of the court and the town, that such alarming news did not lead to the adoption of improper measures. But they fully attained their object, since, on the evening of the same day, at the request of the presumptive heir to the throne, the State Conference was summoned, at which, also, the heir expectant to the throne (the Archduke Francis Joseph, the present emperor) attended, in order to consider whether it was not advisable that the emperor should voluntarily meet the demands of his people, by the promise of a constitution.

On the following day (March 15) the inhabitants of Vienna were astonished, on awakening, by the proclamation, "That his majesty, taking into consideration the existing political events, had determined to assemble around the throne the Estates of his German and Slavonian dominions, as also the Central Congregations of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, by means of representatives, in order to insure their co-operation in legislative and administrative questions. For this purpose his majesty would take the necessary steps to convoke the said assembly for the 3rd of July, in the present year, if not earlier."*

* On comparing the contents of this manifesto with that of the 12th of March, concerning which, as we have been informed, the Provincial Marshal had been consulted in the evening of that day, and which immediately upon its birth was buried among the dust of the archives, we cannot help noticing that the tenor of these two manifestoes was very similar. It so happened, however, that the manifesto of the 12th of March was contemptuously laid aside,—that of the 15th, received with shouts and acclamations. The reason of the reception of these manifestoes being so opposite to each other in their nature, was, that on the 13th of March, when that of the 12th was before the assembly, Prince Metternich still held the reins of government, and the originators of the movement were not yet in possession of the physical and moral weapons which, on the 14th, the creation of the national guard, and the abolition of the censorship furnished to them. They might, consequently, not entertain any hope of enforcing such an interpretation of the emperor's words as would suit their ends. On the 15th of March,

There is no doubt that this imperial decree, which was made public by means of a printed proclamation on the morning of March 15th, was the result of a conference which lasted to a late hour in the night, and which, according to the rumours of the town, was attended by the Archdukes Francis Charles, Francis Joseph, Albrecht, and Louis, the minister of state, Count Kolowrath, the temporary chief of the military and civil affairs at Vienna, Prince Windischgrätz, the minister of state, Count Münch-Bellinghausen, the president of the Exchequer Chamber, Baron Kübeck, and the chiefs of the sections of the State-Council for the affairs of the interior and of justice, Count Hartig and Baron Pilgram. By considering what this proclamation says, and what it omits to say, we may discover the maxims which guided the conference.

In the first place, the emperor's decree announces the conviction, that the concessions which had been made to the Lower Austrian Estates, and to the citizens of Vienna, since the 13th of March, which comprised the arming of the people and the freedom of the press, had rendered an essential reform in the system of government an inevitable necessity, and that this reform must consist in the renunciation of absolutism, since, for the future, the representatives of the people were to take part in the legislative functions, and in the control of the administration.

Everything was thus admitted which forms the essence of a constitutional system.

But when we observe that in the proclamation made on the morning of the 15th of March, the word "constitution" is not mentioned, we are forced to inquire the reason for the

however, they were in possession of the means for multiplying the free concessions of the emperor by extorting others. Hence the shouts of acclamation.

omission of this word, since we cannot suppose that if the substance was promised, the mere expression was accidentally omitted.

An attentive regard to the form of the Austrian monarchy may answer the question. It consisted at that time of divisions, some of which (such as Hungary and Transylvania) already possessed an ancient form of constitution, which had been sworn to by the sovereign, whilst others were governed absolutely, in which, however, there existed certain corporate bodies, who enjoyed a share not so much in the government as in particular branches of the administration, by virtue of important privileges which had been conceded to them by the sovereign. It is therefore clear that the advisers of the crown, in omitting the word "constitution," in respect of the new character of the sovereign towards these latter portions of the monarchy, had carefully considered the importance of the expression, since by proclaiming a constitution that was to serve for some parts of the empire and not for others, the unity of the Austrian monarchy would have been endangered, and its disrupture into separate constitutional states have been prepared. These states, indeed, might have perhaps for some time preserved the semblance of union, by having a common head, but this union would have subsisted only so long as no conflict respecting their separate interests, or rivalry between the representatives, placed the executive power of the common head between the opposing demands of the divided legislative bodies, and thereby rendered an open breach inevitable. The events which had happened in the Diet of Presburg showed that the moment for such a conflict was not far distant. Moreover, the proclamation of a constitution for those parts of the monarchy which did not belong to Hungary or Transylvania, rendered the abolition of Constitutional Estates

necessary in the provinces where they existed, to which step the Conference did not think proper alone to advise the emperor, in opposition to the wishes of the Lower Austrian Estates and the citizens of Vienna, since the privileges of the Estates had been confirmed partly by the oath of the emperor, and partly by his sign-manual. Considered in this point of view, the omission of the expression "constitution," in the imperial proclamation, seems to have been quite in character with the circumstances, particularly as the future course of proceeding was not compromised; but the question was rather left open for the consideration of the representatives of the particular provinces, who were to assemble round the throne, at latest in the beginning of July, in order to advise on this point, whether it were possible, by an understanding with the Estates of Hungary and Transylvania, to convert the aggregate monarchy into a single constitutional state.

The first impression made upon the population of Vienna by the proclamation which appeared on the morning of the 15th March, and which had been determined upon the night before by the emperor, upon the proposal of the Conference, was very favourable, notwithstanding the omission of the word "constitution." The manifesto of the publishers of Vienna, and the general rumour that the censorship upon the newspapers had that day ceased, overcame the mistrust entertained for the sincerity of the government. The public feeling displayed itself so gratefully to the emperor, that he resolved to show himself to the people, during a drive in the afternoon. This drive clearly proved that popular opinion resembles the air-bubble in a levelling machine, which is impelled first to one side, then to another, as it is directed by the hand which guides it. The same people who two days before had threatened the

residence of the emperor, wished now to prove their attachment to him by taking the horses from his carriage and substituting their own personal strength in their stead. It afforded at once matter for laughter and for serious reflection, to mark a member of the Lower Austrian Estates clearing the way for the imperial carriage. It was not in truth

"A noble count on prancing steed,"

like the baron in the ballad of the brave hero who, with a well-filled purse in his hand, offered a reward to him who should save the poor tax-gatherer from drowning; but with the weapon of the Estates at his side, and the three-cornered hat of the Estates upon his head, our Count sought by the magic influence of these distinctive emblems to throw his shield over the emperor, and protect the latter from his rejoicing people! So great was the sympathy of this people either for the person of the "noble count on prancing steed," or for the assembly to which he belonged, that every one firmly believed he had been summoned to precede the lord of the realm in the capacity of his protector. What could have occasioned such an idea, if not the consciousness of former exertions to win popular favour, and of the influence arising from its possession and direction? We relate this unimportant anecdote, as it will help us to estimate the character and real nature of the events which have lately taken place.*

* Our supposition that the member of the Lower Austrian Estates rode before the emperor with the intention of protecting him, is contradicted in the "Nieder Oesterreichischen Landstände und die Genesis." It is there stated that "the first occasion of it is said to have been the wish to convert the drive of the emperor into the Prater, as projected by the courtiers, into a drive through the various parts of the city."

We are inclined to doubt whether at that time a drive into the Prater had been projected. But if such had been the case, the deter-

During this triumph of the mob, the men who held in their hands the strings by which the theatrical puppets were set in motion, found new materials to produce discord by circulating unjust suspicions. They found fault, for instance, with the omission of their favourite catch-word "The Constitution" in the late imperial proclamation, and remarked that under the term "The Estates" those classes of the people who were formerly unprivileged should be included, an object of long contention. They asserted that this proclamation had not been published in the official Vienna gazette of the day (which, doubtless, occurred from the news having been carried too late to the office); they conceived that the form of customary ceremony in which all the imperial concessions of the 13th and 14th of March had been published, should be observed in events of such importance, and they commenced awakening suspicions with regard to the sincerity of the government, and exciting disturbance. The State Conference was informed of the threatening dissensions, and endeavoured to prevent them by announcing that on that very day, to put an end to the popular commotion, an imperial decree would appear as the Magna Charta of the Austrians, in which each concession granted during the past days would be successively enumerated, the satisfaction of the emperor at the gratitude exhibited to him on the occasion of his appearance would be expressed, together with a hope that the minds of the people would be tranquillized, that the studies of the university would be pursued as usual, and that trade and peaceful commerce would once more flourish.

mination of a member of the Lower Austrian Estates,—who did not belong to the court—to change, according to his own pleasure, the direction of that drive, must have originated in the consciousness of the moral power possessed by himself, or by the body whose insignia he wore. Though we may, therefore, have been mistaken with regard to the intentions of that member, the inference which we may have drawn from his conduct seems to have been correct.

In this decree (which will be found at full in the supplement to this work, No. 1) the declaration could be fearlessly made, that the convocation of the provincial Estates would take place with a fuller representation of the citizens, and with proper attention to the provincial Constitutions, because these very points, even before the month of March, had been discussed in the Estates. It was remarkable, however, that the word "Constitution" should be found in this decree, as it seemed to be imperative, for the grave reasons already mentioned, that it should have been avoided. The information we have carefully collected establishes the following fact :—The State Conference wished to substitute in the patent, in place of the ominous word "constitution," the expression "a constitutional arrangement of the country," by which phrase, on the one hand, a pledge was given for a real sharing of the legislative power between the sovereign and the representatives of the people, and on the other, it was intimated that this object was to be attained not in the stereotyped manner lately adopted, but by having due regard to the peculiar circumstances of the provinces of the empire. Whoever considers, without prejudice, the nature of the materials of which the Austrian monarchy is composed, must admit that the plan chosen was the most advisable, with a view to reconcile with the existence of the state the demands of the people who reposed so little confidence in the government. But there were persons who insisted that their favourite catch-word should be pronounced by the emperor, not as an adjective, but as a substantive, in an absolute sense, and they succeeded in this case, as on the day before in reference to the naming of "the National Guard." By representing the matter as an unimportant verbal distinction, they induced the kind-hearted monarch to comply with their request. We consider it our duty to mention to our

readers these circumstances, derived as they are from unquestionable authority, on account of the general censure which has been heaped upon the chief advisers of the crown both by the Conservative and the revolutionary party, whether justly or unjustly it is not for us to say. We content ourselves with stating well-known facts, in order to place in a true light the conduct of those men who figured in the three days' catastrophe.

On the 15th of March the inhabitants of Vienna might exclaim "Post nubila Phœbus," since the gloomy political horizon of the previous days was converted into a momentary brightness. To the joy of the morning succeeded in the afternoon and in the evening a second and a third triumph. The Archduke Stephen, Palatine of Hungary, came from Presburg to Vienna. He was accompanied by the Hungarian deputation, who were bearers of the celebrated address proposed by Kossuth on the 3rd March, and adopted by both Estates of the kingdom. The deputies were attended by a crowd, consisting of many hundred young Magyars. The archduke was received with acclamations of joy. The same vain homage which had been offered to the emperor some hours before, was paid to him. The deputies and their attendants were received with shouts of applause by the national guard and citizens, and attended to their dwellings. What could be the object or the meaning of such ovations? The strangers had evidently contributed nothing to those concessions, from which the inhabitants of Vienna expected so much happiness. It must, therefore, have been in consequence of some secret combination that these latter felt themselves compelled to offer their thanks to those who, on that important day, appeared in Vienna, with the intention, doubtless, of dissolving the union of a hundred years between Hungary and Austria, in order to substitute in its place a new bond of a

less enduring kind. The day of this meeting with the Hungarian deputation, numerous in itself, and accompanied by still more numerous followers, was that on which it had been previously determined that the populace should shout for a constitution in Vienna, but whether this was to result from the free exercise of imperial generosity at the moment of meeting it was impossible to determine. It seems, therefore, beyond doubt that the enthusiastic reception of the Hungarian strangers was intended as a tribute of thanks for their willing help, which was ready for action on the decisive day, though their aid was for the moment no longer necessary. The part which the Magyars played in the following October, reduces this suspicion to a certainty.

But in the midst of all this triumph the disturbers of the public peace never ceased to fan the flame of discontent. Men who, from their external appearance, were strangers in Vienna, mingled with the throng, and whispered to the bystanders "ere the constitution is ready the Russians will be here."

When we consider the events which happened in Austria and its provinces in the first half of the month of March, and remember the lessons of experience which teach, that in the depths of human determination and action none but unimportant words and deeds are allowed to meet the public eye, we must feel convinced that the party whose object was the establishment of the sovereignty of the people, had cast out their nets with wonderful skill to entrap the honest but thoughtless friends of gradual reform, and place them apparently at the head of the movement, deluding them with the hope of observing all proper restraints of right and justice, and afterwards discarding them as tools no longer fit for use. It cannot be uninteresting to hear the voice of one of the organs of this party on the subject of the events at

Vienna. The paper published under the title of the *Constitution* contains in its number for the 19th of October, 1848 (No. 173), the following remarkable announcement :— .

"There are men who would render public writers, and even journalists, responsible for all those occurrences in a revolution which do not correspond with their own views, not to mention others to whom the very idea of a revolution is a heinous crime. But do such men consider what writers the 13th of March called forth? It would seem that if a public press had previously existed in Austria, the transition might have been easier from the old to a new state of things. Doubtless there did exist a certain class of public writers before the 13th of March, but who can say that their works produced any effect upon the people? It has been seen that in March the movement affected those classes of society who had not yet tasted the apple of knowledge, no less than those who had ever been opponents of reform. It is thus clear that some other power than the press occasioned the events of the 13th of March, namely, a sense of increasing oppression, which caused a terrible reaction. Can it be thought that the dealers in the public funds were enticed by the syren voices of the public press? We well know, and have already pointed out the authors of the 13th of March; we well know who would have made cats'-paws of the brave students, and it is now provoking to them, that the students, and the people who joined them, will themselves eat the chestnuts which they have snatched from the flames. The lower Austrian Estates, wished to retrieve the honour which the bureaucracy have lost," &c.

It were well to compare with the above passage from a highly radical pen, another which is the production of a very eminent statesman, who differs wholly in opinion from the contributors to the above mentioned gazette,—Count

Montecuculi, who, before the month of March, filled the office of provincial marshal at the head of the Lower Austrian Estates, expresses himself as follows, in a memorandum addressed to the high assembly of the empire (page 13), dated Mitterau, July 5, 1848, which he afterwards published :—

"It was, in truth, no easy task, and demanded in many instances no small degree of self-denial, properly to represent and to protect the interests of the people, when they were not in unison with the measures of the government ; but in this conflict I have never shrunk from representing such interests, and defending with zeal the welfare of those who were incapable of protecting themselves. I can appeal boldly to the whole of my past career, and to the testimony of those who have watched my conduct as captain of a district, as privy councillor, as vice-president, and, above all, as provincial marshal for two years, and who have had an opportunity of knowing me fully. All Vienna witnessed my conduct in the days of March, which brought the people of Austria to the age of majority, and I have received the most honourable acknowledgment of my exertions."

A glance at the measures which the Lower Austrian Estates had prepared for the Diet on the 13th of March, makes us further acquainted with the publication of certain proceedings which they had drawn up for that Diet. We annex a passage from the draft of a petition for freedom of the press, which appeared in the *Austrian Imperial Vienna Gazette* of the 22nd of March, No. 82 :—

"Your Majesty ! Your Austrians are a true people, who have proved their truth, and are worthy of your love and of your confidence. The more bitterly, therefore, must it affect them and the deeper must be their sorrow, that they are not fully blessed with this confidence. We, your majesty's most truly obedient Estates, fully acquainted with the wishes,

and knowing the wants of the people amongst whom we live, whose interests we share, venture, without hesitation, to lay this declaration before the steps of your throne: that your subjects, in the measures which have been adopted by your government for the careful supervision of their actions, even when they are directed to the promotion of public undertakings, in the constant control that is exercised over the management of their affairs, in the narrow bounds within which their every action is confined, but, above all, in the prohibition of an active interchange of thought, by the existence of an oppressive censorship, find cause for an expression of their mistrust, which should never subsist between your throne and the hearts of your people."

Such words, worthy of a tribune of the people, proceeding from the mouth of the Lower Austrian Estates, in conjunction with those confessions of a democrat, and those admissions of one who enjoyed the confidence of the government previous to March, oblige us to consider the overthrow of that government as the effect of two causes, entirely dissimilar in their nature, but which worked together upon this occasion. Against such a united opposition, no resistance, founded upon the maxims of paternal authority, could have proved effectual. A result, which could no longer be avoided, happened on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of March. Whether bayonets and cannon could have deferred the result must remain doubtful; that they could not prevent what was inevitable, is certain.*

* The party, which in the three remarkable days of March, by combining indefatigable activity with crafty circumspection, accomplished the overthrow of the system of government, evinces displeasure at the representation which is given in "the Genesis" of its proceedings, and tries to weaken that representation by contrasting it with the description of the state of government before March, by which it has been shown in the "Genesis" that the government was destitute of all power to withstand the revolution. The author is accused of duplicity, and doubts are even raised whether those two representations emanate from one and the same

The revolution ought to have ended with the decree of the 15th of March. Had such been the case, it would have been invested with the milder character of a reform: but unfortunately it happened otherwise. The system of government was broken up. The government machine, as we have described it with a perfect regard to truth, could work but imperfectly even under a tranquil order of things. The mechanism was incapable of resisting the destructive blows of modern days. The creaking wheels revolved lazily, and their motion was uncertain, unequal, and difficult. The bulwark, whose firm security was believed capable of protecting Austria from the billows that foamed from the west, had been overthrown. The tide rushed in, and as the breach was not repaired, nor the waters carried off by a powerful and skilful hand, the wall crumbled daily more and more, and the raging element scattered destruction around.

The task of the Genesis should here conclude. It would be foreign to its object and would be a vain task to pursue the revolution through its various phases. We should have to sketch a picture of popular arrogance unrestrained, of domineering civic pride, of presumption, selfishness, knavery, ambition, sophistry, and weakness with all its consequences,—fickleness, hypocrisy, helplessness, treachery, lies, and deceit; and lastly, the violation of right, bloodshed, and civil war, the prevention of which was the noble object which the interference of the

author. We shall not advance any polemical arguments on this occasion, but merely ask a question.

If, in describing the causes of a destructive conflagration, attention has been first called to the decayed condition of the building and its liability to take fire, then the accumulation of combustible materials within and without has been described, and the neglect of applying any remedy has been exposed: if, thereupon, the originator of the conflagration, who either maliciously or carelessly threw burning coals among the combustible materials is pointed out, can the narrator be accused, with any justice, of duplicity and self-contradiction in so doing?

emperor contemplated in the days of March,—an object which, unfortunately for the people of Austria, was not attained. We must content ourselves, therefore, with casting a glance upon those mistakes and errors which produced such disastrous consequences, which prevented the revolution of March from being arrested in its progress, and forbade us from entering upon the paths of reform, as should have been the case.

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND HALF OF THE MONTH OF MARCH, 1848.

THE Austrian statesman, who at the close of the day which witnessed the birth of a constitutional Austria, should have abandoned his mind to serious political reflections, must have felt deeply perplexed in anticipating the effect which the late occurrences would necessarily produce in the interior of the monarchy. He would have felt no disturbance at the thought, that in future the legislative power would no longer exclusively rest in the hands of the emperor, but he would have been startled at the reflection that the latter must henceforth share his power with the people ; and he would, above all things, have felt dismayed at contemplating, on the one hand, that course of measures which had occasioned the determination of the emperor, which was to be attributed to an irregular arming of the people and the sudden release of a licentious press from all restraint, and at observing, on the other hand, the perilous example of countless offences being passed over without any judicial prosecution, and although stigmatized by the law as crimes, exalted, by their successful issue, to the rank of civic virtues.

It should have been an object of primary solicitude with the government to prevent elsewhere an imitation of the example which had been set at Vienna, of a promiscuous distribution of arms to the people. And in fact the provincial chiefs were actually admonished by the emperor, not to permit the sudden establishment of a national guard in the provincial towns.

Although, as it is asserted, this order was circulated as extensively as possible by means of the telegraph, yet immediately after the first correct intelligence had been received of the arming of the students and citizens of Vienna on the 13th of March, the very same thing took place in most of the provincial capitals, though the same reasons did not exist, namely, the necessity of providing protection against bands of robbers and murderers. This suffices to prove the weakness of the executive government.

It was no less important to put a stop to the abuses of the press by means of a legislative enactment, which during the existence of the censorship was wholly unnecessary. The proper authorities, therefore, received directions, immediately after the removal of the censorship, to prepare without delay the plan of such an enactment. But, in order to prevent the weapons of the press, which were wielded in a thousand places, from becoming obnoxious to the sovereign, to the state, to religion, and to social order, during the time which must necessarily elapse in planning, considering, sanctioning, and introducing a system for the regulation of the press, resembling the form already adopted in other German states, the emperor, on the 17th of March, forwarded a cabinet order to the president of the United Court-Chancery, in which he prescribed to the latter the course to be pursued. He arranged a temporary scheme for dealing with offences of the press, in conformity with the general penal code, a plan probably arranged by lawyers of liberal sentiments ; and it was further ordered that the rules should be immediately communicated to the provincial chiefs by means of circulars, that they might serve as models to the authorities in their official duties, till the publication of a legislative enactment. This scheme consisted of six short paragraphs, the first of which defined the nature of an abuse of the press, grounded on the

maxims of justice. The second declared, with precision, the individuals responsible for such abuses. The third appointed the tribunal to take cognizance of such abuses. The fourth pointed out the cases in which a prosecuted publication or picture should be forfeited. The fifth subjected the punishment of offences of the press to the enactments of the first and second part of the penal code. And finally, the sixth decreed the further application of those enactments against those who should in any manner circulate the publications and pictures described in the first section. Without doubt, this short and clear plan for subjecting offences of the press to the penal code, in conformity, as it was, with public opinion in many parts of Germany, would have provided sufficient protection to the government, when the censorship was first removed; but the imperial cabinet order was not obeyed, the scheme was not circulated, and the press remained for many months free from all restraint. To account for this inattention to so important a command of the emperor, at once surprising and deplorable, we must remember that on the 17th of March the emperor, according to an announcement in the *Vienna Gazette* of the 18th, had determined to form a ministry charged with the introduction and completion of the measures promised in the decree of the 15th of March. In consequence of this resolution the High Chancellor retired from public life, and the person who provisionally assumed his post, and who, some days afterwards, was nominated Minister of the Interior, considered it better to lay aside the imperial decree, and to propose hastily a more detailed enactment respecting the press, after the model of the one existing in Baden, and more complicated in its application, but which enactment, after it had been sanctioned by the emperor, he pronounced to be wholly inadequate, upon the suggestion of those whose

excesses it was intended to control. In the middle of the month of May he published another plan, which, as it was intended to be connected with the jury system, could not be put into operation for a considerable time. Abuses of the press were the inevitable result of the state of excitement, daring hatred, and suspicion that then existed, arising from the imprudence or ignorance which incautiously intrusted the freedom of the press, that resembled Pandora's box, to the hands of thoughtless or criminal individuals. So great was the indifference of the minister, that, forgetful of the old maxim, which teaches that the press, when it inflicts wounds, should be compelled to heal them, he occupied himself in establishing a ministerial paper and circulating talented and loyal pamphlets to neutralize the poison by means of antidotes. And now arose the strange confusion of ideas between the liberty to produce an article and the license of compelling its consumption. Since the reign of Joseph II. there was full liberty to produce many articles, linen yarn for instance, but it never occurred to the imagination of any one that in order to indulge their own caprice in forcing the consumption of their own goods, the weavers might lawfully fill the streets with criers of their wares, commissioned to force them on the passers-by, as was the case in Vienna with the products of the free press, till the town was declared in a state of siege. This gave rise to a low street-literature, which for infamy of character actually surpassed that of Paris in the worst periods of the French revolution, and circulated most dangerous poison for the popular mind.

It was further an object of the greatest importance to remove from the minds of a people not yet familiar with the idea of a constitution, the erroneous notion that the latter was to have the effect of nullifying the operation of all previously-existing laws. For this purpose the emperor at once adopted

proper measures. So early as the 19th of March an imperial decree was announced, by which, in consideration of the pressing necessity that public business should be once more resumed, and with a view to place the government in a condition to satisfy the demands of the present and of the future, it was commanded, "That all official authorities should strictly maintain the existing laws and ordinances, so far as they were not legally repealed, as was the case with the laws of the censorship, by the patent of the 15th of March; and his majesty expected, moreover, from his loyal and intelligent subjects, that they would not only obey the same, but would each in his own special capacity support, to the best of his ability, the exertions of the public authorities."

These orders of the cabinet prove, that in the imperial council attention was paid to those points which most demanded it, during the change that was gradually taking place in the Austrian monarchy. But everything depended on the careful and vigorous execution of what was commanded. It is evident that under the new circumstances which had arisen, no such result could be expected from the old and rusty state-machine, the defects of which have already been described to our readers. For this reason, on the 17th of March, the formation of the ministry before mentioned was resolved on by the emperor. The ministerial council was to consist of the minister of the imperial house and of foreign affairs, the minister of the interior, the minister of justice, the minister of finances, and the minister of war. The ministerial council was to be presided over by a president appointed by the emperor. Persons in communication with the cabinet assert, that at the same time doubts were removed from the mind of Archduke Louis, who up to that time had always assisted the emperor, whether his former appointment was compatible with the

new order of things, and this was done under a promise that he would resign his new post, should such a step be considered advisable. But it was the general opinion of the cabinet, that during the period of transition from absolutism to a constitutional form of government, as the new system was not capable of complete application,—that is, until the deputies of the Estates were assembled from the provinces to aid the emperor in establishing the proposed constitution, there would be no objection to preserve near his person the man who enjoyed his confidence, who with unexampled self-denial had ever proved the support of the crown in its most difficult emergencies, without being tainted by an ambitious or corrupt tendency. The deep knowledge of men and things, the penetrating look, the invariable tranquillity and self-possession, the indefatigable industry, and the strong love of truth which marked the Archduke Louis, of whom it might truly be said, that though he was often silent, yet he never spoke an untruth, were qualities which made his adherence to his post indispensable for the welfare of the state; at least until the new constitution, which was determined upon, should come into practical operation, and until the personal assistance which he had afforded to his sovereign could be supplied by a ministry chosen by a parliamentary majority, to whom, in pursuance of a contemplated enactment, that ministry should be responsible.

In yielding to this wish, the Archduke Louis, in accordance with general report, declared that he had promised the late Emperor Francis to pursue his system and maxims of government unchanged, and to undertake no duty which should entail upon him the necessity of opposing proper reforms in the state, and thus to evince his readiness sincerely to promote those changes in Austria which circumstances had rendered inevitable. In our opinion, much evil would have

been avoided if, after the lapse of fourteen days, distrust and deception, in conjunction with popular effrontery, had not rendered this noble resolution vain, since the establishment of the ministerial council had remedied that evil in the central conduct of state affairs, which had rendered the procrastination of the Archduke Louis, in forming his resolutions, an object of censure. His experience, his character, and his rank, were sufficient to prevent indecision, inconsistency, and mistakes, even in measures which required promptness of decision.

The names of the new ministry were published on March the 21st. In the mean time the functions of president were provisionally discharged by Count Kolowrath. Count Ficquelmont was appointed minister of the imperial house and of foreign affairs ; Baron Von Pillersdorf was named minister of the interior ; Count Taafe, minister of justice ; Baron Von Kübeck, minister of finance. The emperor delayed, for the present, the nomination of the minister of war. His choice had fallen upon men who had already been engaged in the same departments of business. During a state of transition this was unavoidably necessary, to prevent utter confusion in the discharge of business. There was discord in the term "provisional" as applied to the ministerial president, for the president is the soul of the ministerial council ; upon him is the difficult duty of holding in check the centrifugal tendency of each minister, and of directing their united efforts to one common point, namely, the welfare of the state. At that critical moment no one was better adapted for this purpose than Count Kolowrath, as well on account of the high and influential office he had filled in the state for twenty-two years, as on account of his rare fortune in enjoying the confidence of the emperor and the favour of the reformers. The word "provisional," therefore, left room for doubting whether he would continue to discharge the difficult

duty of regulating the transition from absolutism to a constitution. As it turned out, after a fortnight, the *Vienna Gazette* announced that, for his health and repose, he had resolved to retire for a time from public business, and had actually ceded the presidency of the ministerial council to Count Ficquelmont. But this was also a temporary measure.

Next to the minister-president, the minister of the interior was the most important personage at that period of commotion and change. Baron Pillersdorf seemed the fittest person to fill this station in that moment of distrust in the government,—renowned as he was for the clearness of his understanding, in addition to being an attractive speaker, a decided friend of reform, an opponent of the late Metternich system, as it was termed, and enjoying the confidence of the reformers, though not of the Conservative body. The former deplored the small degree of influence he had hitherto possessed in the conduct of affairs, although in the business of the interior he had for many years assisted the infirm high chancellor. On account of his mature age and his gradual elevation in the service of the state, the government had reason to hope that he would employ his credit, as well as his remarkable talents, in effecting a quiet and deliberate, but not an utopian and revolutionary, change in the system of the state. How far this hope was fulfilled we may learn from an account of the events in Austria down to the period of Pillersdorf's resignation—a chronicle which it is no part of our task to write. We shall not inquire whether the evil results of the dictatorship which he gradually assumed in the ministry, contrary to the original intention of the emperor, were to be ascribed to his principles, or his errors, or his weakness of character, or whether they arose from accidental causes. We deem it enough to repeat the joke with

which he was ridiculed in Vienna in 1842, when he filled the office of court chancellor, as assistant to the chief chancellor, a joke which subsequently acquired a significant importance. The people of Vienna said that the chief chancellor was the lantern and Baron Pillersdorf the light. This witticism afterwards verified itself in a manner not then foreseen. For no sooner was the light separated from the lantern, than, blown about by the wind upon all sides, it set fire to whatever it touched, and might have occasioned a destructive conflagration, if it had not been luckily extinguished by a gust of wind, and gradually reduced to an expiring ember.

The minister of finance, Baron Kübeck, would have been the man to direct the course of the government at the commencement of its constitutional existence in a regular channel, on account of his cool penetration, his great knowledge and experience, and his firmness of character. He stood very high in public opinion, and had not attained his position by being a member of the aristocracy, but was promoted to the ranks of the latter body on account of his services, which secured for him the confidence of the people. But ill-health obliged him to abandon his ministerial office. The other ministers were active men of business, as was also his successor, Baron Von Kraus, who had accepted the portfolio of the finances, which, as already stated, had been previously offered to and refused by Count Stadion, the governor of Galicia. Such likewise was the Field Marshal Lieutenant Zanini, who had in the interim been appointed minister of war; and the Baron Von Sommaruga, to whom, in the subsequent ministry, was intrusted the department of public education. But these persons, by virtue of their office, could only exercise a subordinate direct influence over the affairs of the ministry, and did not possess

those qualities which would have secured for Baron Kübeck an influence of an indirect nature. It happened, therefore, that Baron Pillersdorf—who at first managed the interior department in conjunction with the two provisional presidents, Kolowrath and Ficquelmont, after the secession of the former and the expulsion of the latter by the audacity of the students and the mob—remained alone at the head of affairs. For, after Count Taafe was driven from the ministry, which was effected, however, with less scandal than had happened to Count Ficquelmont, the duties of provisional president were discharged by Baron Pillersdorf as senior minister in rank.

There were three principal errors which misled the ministry immediately after its formation.

The first consisted in the mistaken idea that when the emperor had expressed his determination to establish a constitution, a constitutional regime was then actually commenced.

The second consisted in the recognition of an inefficient ministerial responsibility in respect of a representative system not yet set on foot.

The third and last consisted in the optimist notion that an excited and unbridled people, in grateful acknowledgment of the freedom bestowed upon them by their ruler, would never exceed the limits of justice without requiring any measures of prevention.

The first of these errors occasioned the cessation of those temporary enactments which were in force up to July 3rd, according to which the representatives of the several provinces were to assemble in Vienna, and for which period of transition the general ministry should have established a firm system of restraint. Contradiction and inconsistency in the measures of particular ministers, and the usurpation of that

control over the ministers which properly belonged only to the legal representatives of the people, but which was assumed by certain temporary societies claiming to act in such a character, were the lamentable consequence. In this period of transition the ministry in the first place yielded to the influence of the Vienna Committee of Safety and to the Central Committee of the National Guard, which held its sittings in the hall of the university, and at a later period to the United Committee of the Citizens of Vienna, the National Guard, and the Academic Legion, just as if they had been the representatives of all the nations of the Austrian empire, by which means these revolutionary local associations obtained a despotic influence over the entire monarchy.

The emancipation of the ministers from the superintendence of the emperor (by substituting other advisers, who were intrusted with no portfolio) was the result of the second error, of which the minister Pillersdorf cleverly took advantage, in order to remove the State Council (in place of introducing proper changes therein), to abolish the State Conference, to remove the Archduke Louis from the presence of the emperor, and to make it impossible for the latter to hear any other voice than the minister's, by rendering all those whom the emperor wished to consult confidentially victims of popular hatred, under the designation of a "Camarilla." But since the minister, who, under the delusion of his own responsibility to the nation, prescribed laws for the emperor, himself obeyed the dictates of a local association in Vienna, the capital groaned under a tyranny whereof history affords few examples.

The consequence of the third error was the removal of the police authorities, and the abolition of the very name of the police (an institution which even in republican France was allowed to continue both practically and nominally); the un-

seasonable promulgation of a species of Habeas Corpus Act, by a notice from the minister Pillersdorf, dated the 28th of March, and addressed to all the provincial authorities, which had the effect of impairing their efficiency in cases where the public peace and order were disturbed; the diminution of the number and strength of the military power in the capital; the silent permission to form associations, a privilege not mentioned in the patent of March 15th, and the omission to make any regulations for their control; the impunity enjoyed by the public disturbers of the peace, according to which cats'-music and rioting became the order of the day; and, finally, the intimidation and abandonment of all the efficient officers of government, of which two examples may be here adduced as illustrations. The first occurred in the case of Martinez, the president of the Vienna Committee of Safety, who was forced to resign his post in consequence of having driven away the notorious agitator, Schütte, though this step is said to have been taken with the connivance of the minister. The second happened in May, 1848, with relation to the Count Montecuculi, of which the memorandum already alluded to will afford an explanation. According to its tenor, he had, in his capacity of president of the administration of Lower Austria, at the request of the minister, Baron Pillersdorf, prepared the order of the 25th of May, which had been determined on by the Ministerial Council, respecting the dissolution and disarming of the Vienna Academical Legion, but he was afterwards abandoned by the same minister, or rather given up as a prey to the popular frenzy, from which he was only saved by his immediate flight.

A ministry constructed on such erroneous principles must have been incompetent to resist a revolution, even of a less complicated character. It was utterly incapable of proving a match for that which had broken out in Austria, in which

difficulties were to be encountered that had never previously arisen.

These difficulties lay partly in the tendency of the popular discontent, and partly in the position of the ministry, in relation to the united monarchy. Two revolutions in France had for their object and result the destruction of the throne and the establishment of a republic ; but the people by whom they were occasioned, desired the continuance of a united French nation. The Austrian revolution did not seek the destruction of the monarchy (at least in the intention of the majority of its originators), but only the diminution of its privileges. There were, however, four separate races, which, in conjunction with this common object, sought to realize their own separate interests. They were the Germans, the Slavonians, the Magyars, and the Italians, though the last contemplated an absolute severance from the empire. German Austria was content to belong to Austria ; Slavonian Austria desired a government separate from that of Germany ; Hungary sought to establish her independence, and only to submit to the Austrian emperor as her king : Italian Austria threw herself into the arms of the other Italians, with imprecations of "death and destruction to the foreigner." Each of these countries asserted with equal vigour its own national claims, but was hostile to the others who did the like. Hence arose a contest of a two-fold character, against the sovereign and against one another. No previous revolution had afforded an example of similar differences.

In France one and the same ministry was effective throughout all parts of the country. But the influence of the March ministry of Vienna was confined to only half the kingdom : those parts of the monarchy which belonged to Hungary refused to acknowledge its authority, and arrayed themselves

under another ministry, responsible to that country; and this responsibility was not imaginary, but real, since in Hungary there existed a system of popular representation, which could bring the ministry to account. The Hungarian revolution was much better organized than the Austrian, and as far as concerned the establishment of the principle of popular sovereignty, the former extended to the latter a sister's hand. The minister of Vienna was unable, by any effective measures, to prevent this union; for the river Leitha was the Rubicon which his power could not pass. This proves the necessity of having only one central government for the entire Austrian monarchy, if the constitutional ruler, placed between two independent ministers, and responsible to two different parliaments of equal authority, would avoid the fate of the man who between two stools falls to the ground. A hasty glance at the exertions which the four nations displayed in the month of March, in the infancy of Austrian freedom, to insure a recognition of their several claims, each without regard to the other, will enable us to estimate the magnitude of the difficulties with which the central administration had to contend.

The Germanistic mania appeared in Vienna as a sort of prologue to the drama of the revolution enacted in the Trades Union on the 6th of March, when the declaration to the emperor was resolved upon, "that nothing but a firm and cordial union of Austria with the common interests of the German fatherland could restore their ancient, oft-tried confidence." No sooner had the glorious days of March destroyed the control of the police, than the three German colours adopted by the Federal Assembly of the 9th of March were publicly worn in the form of cockades, scarfs, ribands, and banners. The tricoloured flag soon afterwards waved from the tower of St. Stephen's, and even from the balcony of the

ancient imperial chancery; and no sooner had the emperor appeared at a window of his dwelling to the Academical Legion assembled in the outer Burg Square, than Professor Endlicher handed him a New German banner, that he might, by waving it, take part in the general enthusiasm for Germany, upon which the congregated multitude burst forth into joyful acclamations. Whoever was fortunate or unfortunate enough to attract the public notice of the inhabitants of Vienna, immediately planted a similar banner to wave before his house, whether "ad captandam benevolentiam" or "ad redimendam vexam." The very name of black and yellow was not only discreditable, but even ominous; black, a mixture of all colours, and gold, the colour of the sun, had been already made famous by the brave armies of Austria, united with German troops in those battles which Austria, for the establishment of German civilization and freedom, had been obliged in former times to wage against the Turk, and in latter times against the red Phrygian cap which had been imported into France from ancient Rome,—and now, alas! these colours were destined to maintain their renown only on condition that the colour of the said Phrygian cap should be incorporated with them, against which Austrian and German warriors had so often and so bravely fought!—an ominous union of colours, which seemed to indicate that young Germany, deserting the principles of her brave ancestors, was ready to embrace those tenets of the Red Republic which the latter had ever rejected! In Vienna and in other German localities of the empire, the independent feeling of the Austrian was changed into a wish to be merged in Germany. The ministry encouraged this idea in the delusion of being able to find therein a guarantee for the growth and prosperity of the new-born child of constitutional freedom.

Contemporaneously with the prevalence of the Germanistic spirit, the Magyaristic mania raised its pretensions. The Hungarian deputation, which had entered Vienna on the 15th of March and on the following day appeared at the foot of the throne, was the bearer of a manifesto adopted by the Hungarian Diet at the suggestion of Kossuth, addressed to the king, which clearly described the political state of Hungary, and demanded the removal of every government-interest unfavourable to the Magyars. The German Michel, who was employed in Vienna, was so benevolent as to give a triumphant reception to the Magyar champions, and to flatter their leader with a gracious look or a kind word; but notwithstanding his satisfaction at his own acquisitions, and the tributes which were plenteously showered upon him by the Magyars in their speeches from the windows of their dwellings, he experienced the humiliation of afterwards hearing that the tribune of the people, Kossuth, on his return to Presburg, in a public speech, ascribed these boasted acquisitions to the presence of the Magyar deputation, although the latter was only in the act of disembarking when the sounds of triumph were resounding through the streets of Vienna to celebrate the new constitution. The truth is, that the reformers of Vienna and Presburg were morally combined in those critical days to make an attack on the government which, although it emanated from opposite quarters, weakened its efficiency. This effect must be ascribed to those concessions, so injurious to the imperial prerogative, which had been made to the Magyars on the well-known remonstrance of the Presburg Diet; for if the Austrian Emperor could have depended on the ready co-operation of his imperial subjects for the protection of the Apostolic King against the attacks of the Hungarian Estates, a different answer would have been given to the demands of the latter than that which the

Archduke Stephen brought back to Presburg on the 15th of March. In this first answer of the king, however, certain important privileges were preserved, and the interests of the other parts of the empire in some degree maintained. In particular, no permission was therein given to separate the command of the Hungarian troops from that of the whole imperial army, and the right to establish a separate ministry of finance for Hungary was coupled with the condition of providing an adequate civil list for the king, a proportionate contribution to the common treasury, the defraying a proper portion of the national debt, and the support of the royal troops garrisoned within the bounds of Hungary and its dependencies. But to this very moderate limitation of their demands, which had in view the preservation of the Pragmatic Sanction, the Magyars would not consent, but succeeded in the month of March in obtaining all those concessions, so injurious to the country, which are included in the royal decree of the 11th of April, 1848, and particularly in the third article of law of the Hungarian Diet for the year 1847—1848.

This article of law, so pregnant with mischief (in the second section), places the executive power, with full authority, in the hands of the palatine, whenever the king shall be absent from the country, and declares the existing palatine, the Grand Duke Stephen, to be inviolable, whereby the rights of the apostolic king, during his residence in his imperial palace elsewhere than in Hungary, are withdrawn and conferred on his representative. The third section makes the efficiency of a royal order depend on the co-operation of a responsible Hungarian ministry. The fifth section decrees that the seat of the Hungarian ministry shall be at Buda-Pesth. The sixth refers all matters formerly transacted in the offices of the Hungarian Court Chancellorship, Court Exchequer, and Lord-Lieutenancy

at Vienna, particularly such matters as related to military affairs, to the defence of the country, and to the finances, exclusively to a Hungarian ministry, by which means a complete separation was established between the Hungarian and the imperial government. The eleventh section concedes to the palatine the nomination of the minister-president during the absence of the king from the country, only reserving to the king a power to approve the appointment. The twelfth section, which relates to the appointment of the other ministers, binds the king to approve the proposal of the president. The inevitable result of these legal resolutions must have obliged the emperor either to take up his residence in Hungary, or to renounce the exercise of his royal privileges in that country. In either case the victory of the Magyars over the interests of the united monarchy was beyond a doubt.

It is important here to consider whether the imperial Austrian cabinet, in considering the address of the Diet presented by the Hungarian deputation, foresaw this consequence, or whether the concessions made to the Magyars should be ascribed to some other influence. The answer to such a question would be easy to one familiar with the secrets of the Austrian cabinet and of the imperial family, if they could not be collected from facts published at the time by the daily press, or well known as matters of common conversation. We have already directed the attention of our readers to the celebrated manifesto of the Estates with relation to the independent administration of Hungary, to its temporary postponement, as also to its subsequent unanimous adoption by the assembly of Magnates. The *Presburg Gazette* gives a literal account of this consent of the Magnates at their sitting of March the 14th (the day when the events of Vienna of the 13th became known in Pres-

burg). After observing that the appearance of the archduke, the imperial palatine, amongst the Magnates on that day had occasioned immense applause, the palatine is said to have spoken the following words :—

" High Magnates ! from the postponement of the manifesto which lies before me, and has just been read [alluding to the one which upon Kossuth's motion had already been adopted by the Estates], I venture to entertain the hope that the high Magnates will agree to its entire contents." After it had been agreed to by acclamation, the palatine proceeded with his speech :

" In observing that the high Magnates adopt this petition, I cannot conceal my wish and my warmest anxiety that this Diet may produce successful results. I assure you, at the same time, that to this end I shall direct all my personal and independent influence, and that I consider it my duty, for the purpose of developing our constitution, to go with you hand in hand in that path which the estimable assembly of the Estates has pursued. But I recognize only one means for the attainment of this object, namely, a thorough harmony and union in these difficult times—an end to which I invite the high Magnates, with the fullest confidence, on the present occasion."

In what manner the palatine fulfilled his promise of directing his influence to give effect to that mischievous resolution of the Diet the Hungarian papers afterwards informed us, by announcing that he had gone so far as to declare his determination of renouncing the office of palatine, if the royal sanction should be withheld. There is no room for doubting the perfect correctness of this newspaper announcement, at least in the opinion of the most intelligent persons in Vienna. Many sagacious Austrians could not find in this declaration of the archduke sufficient reason for grant-

ing a concession, the consequence whereof might be so injurious to the imperial prerogative; for be the position of any servant of the state ever so high and so important, it can never be supposed that his services are actually indispensable, for in the course of nature we may witness the man who was to-day considered indispensable, stretched to-morrow on the bed of sickness or consigned to his coffin, in either of which cases a substitute must be provided. But it might be whispered to such profane doubters, by the initiated, that the matter would not be settled by the retirement of the palatine, since it might afterwards be expected that he would be elected king of Hungary by the Diet. The first view of such a spectre as a neighbouring king in Hungary might indeed terrify, but when viewed closer, it ought not perhaps to appear so formidable. The idea should not have surprised the imperial family as a thing wholly unprecedented, for they had shortly before bewailed the loss of one of their most distinguished members, the conqueror at the Rhine and at Aspern (the Archduke Charles), whom in the night of November 21st, 1790, upon the outbreak of the first French revolution, the rebellious Estates of the Austrian Netherlands had, in their congress, nominated as hereditary Grand Duke of the Burgundo-Belgian provinces, on condition that he would never more incorporate those provinces with the monarchy, and that he would always reside within their limits. As this appointment produced no effect on the mind or conduct of the Archduke Charles, and did not prevent him from supporting the imperial throne, it was to be hoped that in like manner the noble character of the Archduke Stephen would render a similar attempt in Hungary ineffectual. The designs of treasonable hypocrites were thus exposed, the eyes of their deluded friends were opened, and thus that extreme distress was avoided which at a sub-

sequent period spread over Hungary. A report prevalent in the town evinced a presentiment of those events which occurred some months afterwards, under far less favourable circumstances. The council of the emperor, with relation to the affairs of Hungary and Transylvania, was composed of the members of the State Conference appointed before March; a voice in this conference is said to have declared aloud that rather than yield to the demands of the Hungarian Diet, it were better for the king to intrust the protection of his crown to the Croats and Slavonians, who, true to him, were long weary of the Magyar yoke, and were ready to join the brave and loyal troops in Hungary, who, in the preceding March, before the promise of a union between Transylvania and Hungary, had been strengthened by reinforcements from Transylvania. The struggle would not then have proved so violent and deadly as that of October. For the bold warriors of Hungary had not yet been led astray from their duty to the king by orders proceeding from an Hungarian ministry of war, and would at that time have had to contend with enemies destitute both of cannon and of fortresses, with both of which they were provided on the completion of the above-mentioned article of law. That advice, however, was not responded to, as is proved by the moral disheartenment of the government at the events which occurred, and by the advice which their intimidated or false friends, and even the Austrian constitutional ministers, offered them not to enter into a contest about the affairs of Hungary, particularly as the cunning of the Magyars had not failed to insert in the proposition of their Diet an assurance "to maintain inviolable the preservation of the union of the throne and the monarchy, and to have regard to the relation which should be maintained with the provinces"—an assurance which must either be considered as

mere idle words, or else wholly destructive of those concessions with which they were evidently incompatible.

Whilst the Austrians who were infected with the Germanistic mania panted for union, and the Magyars desired to preserve merely a nominal connection with Austria, the Slavonians in the north and south sought to establish their own independence. The Bohemians, in the north, at a meeting held in Prague on the 11th of March, in the rooms of the Wenzelbad, had agreed to the petition before alluded to, and which had the above object in view. On the 20th of March it was brought to Vienna by a numerous deputation, who were invested with no legal character, but were the tools of a club, headed by the innkeeper Faster, under the assumed title of the citizens and inhabitants of Prague. They succeeded in obtaining a conference with the provisional minister-president, and with the minister of the interior; in consequence of which an imperial cabinet order, dated March 23rd, was directed to Baron Pillersdorf, in which an answer was returned to every point of the petition. This answer was partly in approval: partly it alluded to the concessions which had already been made by the decree of the 15th of March, and partly promised to examine and take into immediate consideration their requests. The imperial answer to the complaint made in the fifth section of the petition excited the utmost astonishment and wonder. It put an end to the Robot system in Bohemia from the end of March, 1849, in consideration of a trifling compensation. This was a decision extorted from the sovereign upon a subject which, by virtue of the decree of the 15th of March, should have been submitted to the consideration of a provincial parliament, to be summoned immediately, or else to an assembly of deputies from all the provincial Estates, which should be convoked at latest on July 3rd; but it

should never have been conceded in an extemporaneous manner to a deputation composed of the inhabitants and citizens of Prague. This concession to a deputation, furnished with no legal title, and composed of a motley crew, emanating from a public-house in Prague, exposed the weakness of the new ministry, and gave reason to fear that new associations would obtain a like favourable hearing, and would claim a similar attention to their wishes (either with or without a riot), an apprehension which was soon afterwards actually realized in Vienna. The ministry openly confessed that it wanted the courage and the will to execute the decisions of the patent of the 15th of March with dignity and firmness, but it was ready to purchase momentary repose by the abandonment of those decisions. But in this expectation it was grievously deceived, for, though Faster and his adherents were satisfied with the audacity displayed by them in Vienna, their feelings of satisfaction did not extend to the inhabitants of Prague. On the return of the deputies of the Wenzelbad to Prague, a burst of dissatisfaction, excited by the students, arose at what had been achieved. It was pronounced insufficient, as it was wholly silent on those points calculated to satisfy the spiritual interests of the Bohemian nation. The cause of this unfavourable result of ministerial weakness lay in the fact that, at the meeting at the Wenzelbad on March the 11th, some members of the university of Prague maintained that the claims of the intelligent classes were not sufficiently represented ; thereupon a meeting of the heads of the university was appointed for the 15th of March, to consider the nature of those claims. Faster and his dependants did not deem it prudent to await the decision of this meeting, or to take part in the petition, but hurried to Vienna with the one adopted on March the 11th. The students of Prague, on their side,

were anxious to emulate the inhabitants of Vienna in activity and zeal. They had forwarded them an address, which was published by the newspapers, in which they had expressed their feelings of admiration and gratitude to them, and they therefore transmitted to the foot of the throne the petition adopted by the university on March the 15th. In conjunction with some adherents of the Wenzelbad party, who had remained behind in Prague, and were dissatisfied with the success which had attended Faster and his followers in Vienna, they excited a considerable disturbance on the return of the deputation, the consequence of which was, the transmission of a second petition to the government, which had been agreed to in Prague on March 29th, and in which those demands were repeated which had not been previously granted. Threats and abuse were employed against those members of the cabinet whose sentiments were considered doubtful. The ministry condescended to treat with the second deputation from Bohemia. The political importance of the club of the Wenzelbad in Prague was increased by their success. When, on the return of their first deputation, they announced to the Bohemian people that the Robot system was abolished, this news secured the popular sympathies, and gave them that degree of influence which, two months later, induced the populace to take part in the insurrection that broke out in Prague.

The north Slavonians of Poland, from the remembrance of the evil fate which had attended their hoisting the war-banner in 1846, thought it imprudent to rekindle the flames of revolution at home. They resolved, therefore, to remain satisfied with providing, in the first place, that the fire should be kept alive beneath the ashes, whilst they applied themselves to the task of stirring and spreading the flames through the territories of Germany, Slavonia, Hungary, and

Italy ; in which endeavour they were assisted by thousands of emissaries, consisting not only of men, but even of ladies, from the very *élite* of society (*crême de l'élégance*).

The excited feelings of nationality amongst the South Austrian Slavonians had, in the beginning of March, assumed a more decided character. In Agram, an extemporized national committee convoked, on March 25th, a national assembly, formed from the three united (!) kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, in which it was agreed, that a numerous national deputation should ascertain and fully state the demands which the nation had to lay before the throne. At the outset of these demands, a wish was expressed to remain, as formerly, under the Hungarian crown. But in comparing this wish with the nature of the various claims, stated under thirty distinct heads, it will be seen that it was expressed with as little pretensions to seriousness as the assurance of the Hungarian Diet to preserve intact the union of the crown and the monarchy, and at the same time to take into consideration the relations of Hungary to the hereditary provinces. That celebrated saying of Talleyrand, that language has been given to man, not for the purpose of expressing his thoughts, but rather to conceal them, was here fully exemplified ; for whilst their words asserted their desire to continue the union between the three kingdoms and Hungary, their thoughts were bent upon the complete dissolution of those ties by which they were connected. The first point of these demands required that the Ban Jelacic, who had been already elected by the people, should be appointed captain of the nation, with all the accompanying attributes of the office. In the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 15th, 16th, 19th, and 29th points, the South Slavonians demanded the convocation of their Diet in Agram, on the following 1st of May ; the incorporation of Dalmatia, and of the military provinces (with

respect to their political administration), and such other portions of their country as by the course of time had become united with the Hungarian counties or other portions of the Austrian dominions; national independence; a separate independent ministry, responsible to the Diet of the three kingdoms; the introduction of the national dialect in all the legislative departments and seminaries of education; yearly diets, to be held alternately in Agram, Essegg, Zara, and Fiume; the establishment of a national bank; the restitution of their national funds and banks to the management of their own responsible finance minister, instead of leaving them, as hitherto, to be controlled by Hungary; the swearing in of the national troops to the common constitution, to fidelity to their king, to the freedom of their nation, and of all the free people of the Austrian monarchy, according to the principles of humanity; and lastly, the concession of all offices, spiritual and temporal, without exception, to members of the united kingdom exclusively. These demands were diametrically opposite to those of Hungary, having only this one point in common, the isolation of the three kingdoms from the other parts of the monarchy; a design clearly indicated by the 18th point, which demanded that the national troops of each division should remain in their own country, and be officered by their own countrymen, commanded in their own dialect, and when on foreign service, or on cordon duty, should be provided with pay, food, and clothing; that foreign soldiers should be dismissed from the country, and that the border troops in Italy should be allowed to return home. In the other points of their demands, the South Slavonian nations were not behind the other people who were struggling for freedom. The most prudent and the wisest step which the Austrian government of that stormy period ever took, was, that they (in pursuance of the advice of some friendly

Croatian nobles, even before the meeting of the national assembly on March the 29th) anticipated the demand made in the first point, and, by an official announcement of the *Vienna Gazette*, on March the 28th, appointed the Baron Jelacic to the office of Ban of Croatia; for whilst, by the exercise of their own power, they thus gave to the nation a leader universally beloved and esteemed, one truly devoted to the reigning dynasty, and having at heart the maintenance of the united monarchy, they also adopted the surest means of restraining the exaggerated demands of the people within the bounds of moderation, by the influence of a person possessed of unlimited confidence. How great is the controlling influence possessed by a popular ruler, truly devoted to his sovereign, was fully exemplified by the events of October and November, when the Ban Jelacic, at the head of his national troops, fought to preserve the unity of the monarchy. By this appointment, the most powerful bulwark was opposed to the Magyar insurrection. This the chiefs of the Magyar party fully admit, and they tried to represent this step of the king as his first act of treason against the Hungarian ministry. Thus speaks the representative of the Hungarian government, Count Ladislaus Teleki, to the French republic, in his manifesto to the civilized people of Europe, in the name of the Hungarian ministry (Leipsig, by Keil and Co.), page 21; and he endeavours to prove his assertion by observing, "that the ministry on this occasion were not applied to or consulted, and that the king's appointment of the Ban was not confirmed by the consent of the ministry." But in this observation the learned count has overlooked the fact, that in Hungary and its tributary provinces the resolutions of the Diet, which had been sanctioned by the king, were only rendered operative on the prorogation of the Diet, by the publication of such matters as had been agreed to between the crown and

the Estates: that this publication did not take place till the 11th of April, 1848, by means of a royal decree, and that therefore, in the appointment of the Ban of Croatia in the month of March, reference was had only to the ancient laws and the peculiar statutes that related to the crown lands of Hungary (*partes adnexæ*). These, however, neither allude to any responsible ministry, nor make the validity of a royal decree dependent upon the joint signature of any official.

With respect to the appointment of the Ban of Croatia, they merely prescribe the previous consent of the Palatine, which regulation was followed as a matter of course; for when it was proposed to confer the honour of the banship on Jelacic, the application of the palatine to the apostolic king, and their mutual conference upon this subject, took place. In addition to this, the sentiments and character of the newly-appointed Ban were sufficiently known to the Magnates, to the deputies who composed the parliament of 1847-48, and to the Hungarian ministry, so as to enable them to perceive that if, by this appointment, the government had committed a violation of the established forms, complaints upon the subject would have been made immediately from Presburg, and not have been left till the following year, to come from Paris by way of Leipsig. If, in the interests of the young Magyar diplomacy, a royal act has been adduced in Teleki's manifesto as the first instance of treason, against the legality of which not one word was uttered by the Magyar Diet, still sitting at Presburg at the time of its announcement, it is clear that the first act of treason never occurred, and the civilized nations of Europe will consequently have reason to doubt the actual occurrence of the second, third, and subsequent ones.

We have now seen how the maxim "L'amour bien conditionné commence par soi-même" was truly followed out in

the days of March by the Germans, the Magyars, and the Slavonians, for the purpose of realizing the objects of each nation, without reference to the others, or regard to the existence of their common mother, Austria. The fourth race, the Italian, acted upon the same maxim, and sought, by means of violence, to attain its long-cherished wish, namely, a separation from the Austrian empire, which had latterly been fanned into a flame by the arts of its royal neighbour, and the political weakness, imprudence, and inexperience of the head of the Catholic Church. There were those in Vienna who expected that the granting of such a constitution as had been promised by the decree of the 15th of March would satisfy the Lombardo-Venetians. They overlooked that the attaining of political rights was but a secondary object with the Italians, and that the principal point they had in view was their liberation from a foreign yoke.

It was singular enough that these persons did not even abandon their error, when the Austrian army ceased to retain possession of a greater part of its Lombardo-Venetian kingdom than was contained in the triangle formed by the citadels of Mantua, Legnano, Peschiera, and Verona, when King Charles Albert reigned in Milan, and the republic of St. Mark was actually proclaimed in Vienna. The March ministry either must have felt itself much embarrassed in that respect by the complaints of the tradesmen of Vienna, who, for the sake of their own speculations in goods, money, and railway shares, wished to see peace restored with Italy at any price, or must have been intimidated by the sense of its own weakness, when at the end of March it formed the resolution of making an effort to tranquillize Austrian Italy by means of plenipotentiary commissioners. The complete failure of such an attempt was to be anticipated, for it found an obstacle on the one side in the hatred towards the foreigner, and in

the first intoxication of victory felt by a nation that was now for a moment liberated from the Austrian yoke, and on the other side in the wounded honour of the imperial army, which was panting to efface the sad recollection that they had, in their hasty retreat, abandoned the richest part of the empire to Italian disloyalty, treason, and rebellion, if not through their own fault, at least in obedience to the dictates of dire necessity. Under such circumstances, the appeal of the pacificators must have proved to the nation but an empty echo, and to the army a distasteful sound. The ministry might have known this well, since it enjoined the commission to organize and regulate provisionally those parts of the empire which should be restored by force of arms to the Austrian rule, with a declaration of the principle that the submission of the people now-a-days, as the political world was constituted, could not be maintained, except by their own consent (from a conviction of their own advantage). From this popular principle, it became the task of the court commissioner, in re-organizing the country, not only to consider the general wants of the loyally-disposed citizens, but also the desires of those who were aiming at nationality. In adopting this principle in the reconquered Italian provinces, the new government was brought into perpetual collision with the views and objects of the military general, and therefore as long as war lasted, it was rendered impossible. But as no truce occurred, the object of the ministry was in this second respect impracticable. The statesman who undertook this mission might have foreseen such a difficulty, for he was well acquainted with Italy, and the dependence of the government upon military authority. It is not our task to inquire why he wasted his strength in pursuing an unattainable object. We content ourselves with observing, that when the at-

tempt at pacification was resolved upon by the ministry, it was known in Vienna that the establishment of a truce was intended, and the co-operation of the English cabinet was expected to bring the contest to a happy termination. When that purpose was abandoned and that hope frustrated, the court commissioner saw that he was no more required, and he resigned a mission which at least proclaimed to the world the generous and conciliatory intentions of the emperor, and the failure of which has at least produced benefit to the empire and insured immortal glory to the brave and loyal armies of Austria as well as to their general, whose constancy bade defiance to the frowns of fortune.*

* The Italian questions of the year 1848, have lately attracted greater interest through the communications of the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the discussions consequent thereupon, as also through the negotiations relative to the new organization of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. We think it requisite to add to the present edition of "Genesis," under No. 5 of the Appendix, the original proclamation of the Aulic commissary to the Italians in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, which, though ineffectual, explained his mission; we add it, because it expresses the views and the intentions of the Austrian cabinet, and because it may serve to prove that the partisans of Italian nationality would have been of more service to the Lombardo-Venetians by inducing them to accept the proffered hand of reconciliation than by nourishing their eagerness for battle. As, however, actions alone are the true test of the sincerity of words, we place before our readers in No. VI. of Appendix, the copy of a letter from Udine, published in No. 65 of the evening edition of the *Wiener Zeitung*, of the 6th of June, 1848, as supplying proof, founded on facts, that the words of the proclamation, had they been listened to, would have been realized. For the measures which were taken in Venetian Frioul, immediately after its return under the dominion of Austria, must be viewed as a pattern of the treatment which the Austrian government then had destined for the whole of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The Aulic commissary had in this affair, not, as it might be supposed, followed the dictates of his own feelings, but the ministerial instructions, with the full assent of the conqueror of Frioul, Field-marshal Count Nugent, a soldier as intelligent as he is brave, and whose heart and soul knew how to wreathe a branch of olive around his sword. The measures adopted on this occasion were sanctioned on the part of the ministry, and were to be immediately applied to all the other parts of the country, which returned under the sceptre of the emperor. To support these attempts at recon-

When we consider the struggles which were carried on by the four great national divisions of the empire for independence, and which we have here hastily sketched in a general manner, and also the contemporaneous efforts made in different places by corporations and individuals to effect the realization of unripe schemes of freedom and plans of independence; when we compare such powerful and energetic exertions with the insignificant resources, both moral and physical, which the Austrian ministry could command in the latter half of the month of March, we must deeply lament the weak and wavering conduct of such a ministry as we have described, which was hastily formed of heterogeneous materials, and which acted without any preconcerted plan of united operation. But we should be unjust indeed if we made this circumstance a ground of personal accusation against all those men who were summoned by their emperor to take

ciliation, the Aulic counsellor Von Hummelauer was, in the first days of May, despatched on a mission to London, in order to prevail upon the Foreign Office there to exercise its influence to promote a peaceful adjustment of the dispute in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. In case of the acceptance of the proposals, namely, the constitutional government of the kingdom on a national basis, under a prince of the empire, with a reservation to Austria of certain sovereign rights, and subject to the contribution of ten millions of dollars towards the annual interest of the national debt, further steps were to have been immediately taken by the pacificator, with the co-operation of diplomatic agents, who would have been despatched to him. Count Ficquelmont had already drawn up the instructions for Hummelauer. That minister never intended the complete separation of any part of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom from the Austrian empire. It was only subsequently to the unsuccessful negotiations in London that his successor, Baron Wessenberg, had recourse to the desperate attempt of offering to Count Casati, the chief of the provisional government at Milan, through the medium of a confidential letter forwarded to him in the beginning of June by an imperial counsellor of legation, the perfect independence of Lombardy, provided Lombardy would take upon itself, as the price of peace, a proportionate part of the Austrian national debt. Count Casati did not entertain this offer, inasmuch as he declared to the ministerial envoy, that the obligations of the provisional government towards its allies prevented it from commencing any negotiations of its own.

charge of the vessel of the state, which with weather-beaten sails was driven about, the sport of the stormy ocean, the greater part of which ministry, moreover, obeyed the call from a feeling of duty rather than from their own inclination. Like those physicians who at the outbreak of the Asiatic cholera treated the new disease according to its outward symptoms, and only employed medicines which relieved the outward appearances, and failed to reach the root of the evil, but oftentimes increased it, so these new ministers were too inexperienced in the moral epidemic which, in the month of March, suddenly attained a furious height in Austria, to be able to understand the necessity of applying a bold remedy. They sought by gentle means to assuage the disturbing symptoms, but the source of the disease was only increased by such treatment. Thus it happened that in the latter half of the month of March the revolutionary epidemic was not only not extinguished as one could have wished, but was even increased in intensity and fury, and threatened to bring the kingdom to a fearful end. Whether, indeed, another and a bolder line of conduct, in pursuance of the decree of March the 15th, would have produced a different and more favourable result, is a problem which we cannot resolve with full certainty, because its explanation depends upon hypotheses whose realization must ever remain doubtful. This much, however, is certain, that a more fearful result could scarcely have occurred.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE MONTH OF MARCH, 1848, TO THE OPENING OF THE CONSTITUENT DIET AT VIENNA.

GUIZOT, in his work upon Democracy in France, observes, that the republican government used every exertion to prevent the realization of the apprehensions which were connected with its institution, and then adds the following remarks : "Efforts impuisants, qui ralentissent, mais qui n'arrêtent pas le mouvement de l'état sur une pente funeste. Les hommes qui voudraient l'arrêter ne prennent pied nulle part : à chaque instant, à chaque pas, ils glissent, ils descendent : ils sont dans l'ornière révolutionaire, ils se débattent pour ne pas s'y enfoncer, mais ils ne savent, ou n'osent, ou ne peuvent en sortir. Un jour, quand on y regardera librement et sérieusement, on sera épouvanté de tout ce qu'ils ont livré ou perdu, et du peu d'effet de leur resistance." These observations of an author so esteemed, and of a statesman so experienced, might be well applied to the Austrian government after the month of March.

In place of "the convocation of deputies from all the Provincial Estates, which had been appointed by the Emperor Ferdinand to take place on the 15th of March, together with a meeting of representatives from the Central Congregations of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, with the least possible delay, and a more complete representation of the citizens, paying full regard to existing provincial constitutions, for the purpose of considering the form of constitu-

tion for the country which had been agreed upon by the emperor," after the lapse of a few months came the destruction of all the provincial systems of government; the adoption of a democratic monarchy; the excesses of a Diet assembled for the purpose of framing a constitution, but considering itself as sovereign; the hanging of a minister upon a lamp-post; the scaring away of the emperor from his palace; the bloody defence of the palace against the imperial army; the obstinate civil war in Hungary and Transylvania; the abdication of the emperor, the refusal of his immediate successor to succeed to the throne, and the union of Russians with the Austrian troops, to contend not so much against a nation as against the barbarians of the 19th century, who, under the false banner of freedom and a love for the people, threatened the destruction of the thrones and civilization of Europe.

Although the first appearance of the ministry appointed by the emperor on March 17th, and which commenced its proceedings a few days afterwards, and was responsible for the completion and perfection of the imperial decree of March 15th, was not calculated, as we have already observed, to inspire hopes that it would succeed in accomplishing its task; no one, however, could possibly suppose that it would completely lose sight of the object for which it was responsible, and adopt another view diametrically opposite, and indeed such conduct was not approved by the majority of its members. Unfortunately, the ministry was at the very commencement of its career placed by the Minister of the Interior upon a steep declivity, and was unable afterwards to retain its footing. Without following its down-slidings step by step, we ought to recite all the circumstances which, in our opinion, contributed in the greatest degree to leave the state, whose establishment and foundation upon a constitutional

basis was the object of the good emperor, a prey to the utopian schemes of young boyish fanatics, and to the passions of a few interested individuals, to loosen the bands of order, and to prepare the indescribable evils into which Austria was doomed to behold her dreams of happiness converted. Amongst the circumstances of this character, we particularly distinguish the following :—

1. The suppression of the provincial law to regulate the press, enacted on March 31, 1848, even before its introduction, by the influence of the Aula of Vienna and their adherents.

2. The destruction of the constitution of the Estates in Bohemia, and the concession of a popular representation, founded on democratic principles, through the influence of the club of the Wenzelbad in Prague.

3. The departure from the path pointed out by the decree of March 15th, 1848, for establishing a constitution for the country, by granting the constitution of April 25th, which had been devised by the ministry.

4. The unpunished assaults of the people of Vienna upon the spiritual and temporal authorities, the attacks against the privileges of the crown by assailing the new constitution and by usurping an influence in the appointment of a ministry.

5. The suspension of the constitution granted by the charter of April 25th, 1848, and the nomination of a Diet to frame a constitution.

6. The departure of the emperor from Vienna, abandoning the reins of empire to the incapable ministry that remained behind.

7. The irresolution of the ministry in the face of the demonstrations of the students of Vienna, the National Guards, and the working classes on the 26th of May.

8. The paralysing of the emperor's independence in Innsbruck, by the appointment of a minister to advise him, who was a stranger to the monarchy, and of another who was the offspring of the revolution and inexperienced in the state.

9. The fearful attempt of the Czechs at separation in Prague, which was suppressed by Prince Windischgrätz, not by the power of, but in spite of, the inefficiency of the central government of Vienna.

10. The continuance of the city of Vienna under the dominion of clubs and demagogues until the assembling of the Diet to frame a constitution.

11. The inactivity of the friends of order at the elections for members to serve in the Diet, contrasted with the zeal displayed by the advocates of disorder, who were favoured not only by the elective laws but by the regulations of the ministry.

12. The appointment of an imperial *alter ego* at Vienna, in addition to the one already in existence at Buda-Pesth.

13. The transformation of the Diet from an assembly convened to deliberate upon a form of constitution into a legislative body.

14. The alteration of the ministry, in obedience to the will of a united committee of citizens, National Guards, and students in Vienna, at the moment of the meeting of the Diet.

To the circumstances here enumerated many others might be added which equally contributed to drag the government, after the month of March, to the brink of a precipice ; but, for the sake of brevity, we confine ourselves to the catalogue above mentioned as the most influential.

1. On April 1, 1848, the official sheet of the *Vienna Gazette* published a provisional law with relation to the press

(of the 31st of March); on the 7th of the same month there appeared again in the official part of the same *Gazette* an address from the Minister of Justice to the collected presidents of the Courts of Appeal, who were subordinate to the Supreme Court of Justice, which gave instructions as to the administration of the new law; but on the 18th of April the observation appeared in the same *Gazette*, that the editor relied upon the declaration so repeatedly made by the minister Pillersdorf, "that the law with relation to the press was not binding, because it had not been published officially (through the authorities of the country)." According to this announcement, the Minister of the Interior had neglected to announce to the authorities of the country who were under his control the official notice of a law proclaimed by the sovereign, and which had already been published in the official sheet of the *Vienna Gazette*, whilst the Minister of Justice circulated instructions to the judicial functionaries with regard to its administration. Such a line of conduct was not by any means calculated to inspire respect for the imperial decrees and confidence in the united co-operation of the ministers. But if we only call to mind the notorious cause that influenced this course, namely, the terror inspired by the *auto-da-fé* with which the *literati* and the students of the Aula had the daring hardihood to threaten that enactment, we must find cause for lamenting that the conduct of the minister Pillersdorf, which was utterly destructive of all law and order, publicly recognized the supremacy of the Aula, which conduct soon weakened the independence of the ministry, and degraded it till it became a mere plaything in the hands of demagogues at home and abroad. To these seditious persons alone must we ascribe the seduction of the academic youth, who surrendered themselves to their guidance, in the conviction that the object of their exertions was

at once great and noble. These experienced destructives could, in fact, have found no tools more fitted for effecting their designs. In England and France the first combatants of the Austrian revolution were covered with ridicule; rushing (as it was said) from their school-rooms, they undertook to play the part of state reformers; but if we reflect that in order to convert the masses of the people to new ideas of freedom, a passionate style of eloquence should be employed, and that the students at the higher institutions afforded a wide field for efforts of this nature, in consequence of their connection with parents, relations, friends, boarding-house keepers, and many families whose children they were in the habit of instructing in elementary knowledge, and that the more talented, the more active, and the more sincere a youth is, the more easy it will be, in consequence of his inexperience in the ways of the world, to excite him to rave enthusiastically in support of those rash doctrines which Schiller puts into the mouth of his Marquis Posa, and to undertake daring deeds, exclaiming with Bürger, "that to die for virtue, justice, and freedom, is the most sublime courage—is the Redeemer's death:" when we remember this, we must admit that the grand masters of the revolutionary party could find no plan more prudent, nothing better adapted for their purpose, but at the same time nothing more detestable, than to excite those inexperienced youths—a prey to the impressions of the moment—to political fanaticism, in order to use them as apostles and emissaries of the revolution. Beguiled as they were, they deserve our pity; but the curse of evil deeds should fall upon their seducers, and the reproach of weakness should lie upon that ruler of the state who, when the duty of his office required him to resist such wickedness, gave way before the same.

2. In the official part of the *Vienna Gazette* of April 11th,

1848, the Minister of the Interior published an imperial cabinet order, directed to him on the 8th of the month, in which a concession was made of those points of the petition which had been previously refused to the deputation of the Wenzelbad of Prague, and which proceeded to Vienna, for the second time, at the latter end of March. The points were these :—Perfect equality in the use of the Bohemian dialect with the German in all branches of general administration and of public instruction ; in the place of the meeting of the Estates of Bohemia, which were shortly to assemble, a proportionate representation of the people, embracing all the interests of the country, and formed upon the broadest possible basis of elective and representative qualifications, with the right to take part in debating and determining all the affairs of the country ; the establishment of a responsible central board of officials for the kingdom of Bohemia, in Prague, with a wider sphere of operation ; the filling of all public offices and judicial posts with persons conversant with both languages ; a free, uncontrolled right of petitioning, and many other demands of less importance. In the same cabinet order, the representation of the people in the Diet was decreed, and the right of voting, both active and passive, was regulated. To the previously existing members of the Diet, an increased number of members for the towns was added ; that is, one member was provided for each town with a population of 4,000 inhabitants, two for a population of 8,000, and for the rest of the people, two members for each circle of the vice-regency ; the election was to be direct, and every person was qualified who paid taxes, who was twenty-five years old, and was not under guardianship, and not stained by any degrading offence, forbidden under a penalty by the criminal code. Every native was eligible as a representative, who had attained his thirtieth year, subject to the excep-

tions above enumerated. We believe that this important measure was adopted in the Ministerial Council, which the official part of the *Vienna Gazette* of April 2nd announced to have been held under the presidency of the provisional minister, Count Kolowrat, and in which the decree for the administration of Bohemia was considered and decided. The appointment of the Archduke Francis Joseph (now emperor) to the lieutenancy of Bohemia, and of Count Leo Thun to the office of Governing President, was made on April 6th. If, in the preceding conduct of the ministry, the victory of the Aula over the executive, with relation to the press enactments, was apparent, the triumph of the Wenzelbad Club of Prague was evident from the nature of the concessions made to the Bohemians. The destruction of the Bohemian constitution, for whose maintenance in its original extent the Bohemian Estates had spared neither money, nor time, nor labour, and had even reminded the king repeatedly of his coronation oath, and had threatened an appeal to the German Diet, was given up, without hesitation, to the demands of a club-deputation ; and in place of that constitution, a new order of things was established, which threatened to infringe on the rights of the throne even more than the old privileges of the Estates had done. For, in the active right of voting which was given to every tax payer, and in the passive right which belonged to him who paid no taxes, the democratic principle was admitted : the concession of a responsible central administration for Bohemia, to transact business in its capital, paved the way for a separation of that province, after the plan which had already succeeded in Hungary : the nomination of the heir-apparent to the lieutenancy of Bohemia would necessarily lead there to the imitation of an institution which was quite unsuited to a constitutional kingdom, viz., that of the responsible Hungarian palatine ; for

it could never be endured that the archduke, who was to succeed to the throne, should be made subject to the Bohemian Provincial Diet or to the general Imperial Diet. The concessions to Hungary were at all events made by the legal representatives of the country, and in the solemn manner which belongs to acts of government of such importance. Those to Bohemia resulted from the pressing demands of a private society, clothed with no legal title, and were in the form of a grant made on petition. Some ministers of high influence, who happened to be in Vienna, and were members of the Bohemian Estates, and whose names are published by the *Vienna Gazette* of April 10th, as follows—Prince Ferdinand Lobkowitz, John Adolphus Schwarzenburg, Vincent Charles Auersperg, von Schönburg and Hartenstein, Charles Paar, then the Count Eugene, Joromir and Ottokar Czernin, Francis Ernest Harrach, Vincent Bubua, and H. Lützow,—presented an address to the emperor, dated April 2nd, which set forth the following prayer :—

"(a) That the claims of the Czechish nationality should be placed upon a perfect equality with the German nationality in all things, but particularly in public instruction, and in the public administration of Bohemia : (b) that for the future, in Bohemia, not only the citizens, but, as far as possible, all classes who were possessors of property, and who at present were either not at all, or but inadequately represented, should be represented in the most complete manner in the Diet, or other national assembly, by means of deputies chosen by themselves."

This address, however, notwithstanding the great respectability of the persons who prepared it, could not pass for the expression of the wishes of the Bohemian Estates, and was therefore only entitled to the weight of a private opinion. At all events, it would have been necessary to pass a mea-

sure with relation to the decree of March 15th, which promised "a convocation of all the provincial Estates, with a fuller representation of the citizens, paying regard, however, to the existing provincial constitutions:" indeed, this should have been the first care of a ministry responsible for the fulfilment of that decree, and should have been transacted in the form usual for so important an act of government, viz., by means of an imperial decree, as had been done about the same time in Lower Austria, Styria, and Carinthia (on the 11th of April in the two former countries, and on the 25th in the latter), when a measure of far less importance, viz., the abolition of the feudal burdens, was announced by the emperor, at the instance of the Estates of the above provinces, which was to take effect from the end of the year 1848, in consideration of a reasonable compensation. But that a radical change should be introduced in the Bohemian provincial constitution, at the request of the deputies of a Prague club, "in order (as the ministry made the emperor say) to afford a new proof to his loyal subjects in Prague of his patriotic intentions and his solicitude for the welfare of Bohemia," displayed a most lamentable proof that the Wenzelbad ruled in Prague, just as the Aula did in Vienna. The excessive abuse of this authority subsequently brought upon Prague, on the ensuing Whit-monday, and upon Vienna, on the 28th of October, the thunder of artillery and a storm of bullets. However, the new administration of Bohemia, which was forced upon the government, never saw the light; for the archduke, who had been nominated to the lieutenancy, retired, first to the army in Italy, where he remained till July 7th, and then to the emperor's family at Innsbruck, where he remained till the return of the latter to Vienna, without having assumed the office destined for him. This was certainly a prudent course, since it could never have

appeared proper for an imperial prince, particularly for the heir-apparent to the throne, to take up a position between a nation actively engaged in pursuit of its separate interests, and a sovereign who had the united welfare of the monarchy at heart. The example which Hungary so repeatedly offered should have restrained the ministry from such a course. Moreover, the democratic Bohemian Diet was not united. All these measures, therefore, had no other effect than to display the weakness of the ministry, and to strengthen the desire to abuse it.

3. The 25th of April was the day on which the decree of March 15th was annulled in its most important parts (viz., in the regulations for the constitution of the country), by those very persons who were responsible for its performance. For on that day appeared the charter of a constitution, "without the co-operation of the deputies from all the provincial Estates, who were to be summoned to Vienna in support of the constitution."

We shall not investigate the peculiar properties of this bantling, which was born on April 25th, and was carried to the grave on May 15th (the bastard offspring of Vienna radicalism and of ministerial vanity); such a task would be mere waste of time. Respecting its appearance, we may observe, that the clubs, which in Vienna tyrannised over the ministry of the interior, found it incompatible with their views and their impatience, that the constitution which had been determined upon by the emperor on March 15th should be constructed on the foundations of those provincial institutions which were already in existence, with the joint co-operation of the former guardians of the old and the dispenser of the new franchises, but wished to see a temple of liberty, that should by no means narrow their desires, erected on the ruins of all the plans which existed previous to the month of March,

which, if not of stone, should at least be formed in the modern fashion of pasteboard, that could easily be destroyed; and we may further observe, that the minister Pillersdorf, in his bygone hours of idleness, had, out of mere whim, already constructed such a temple for the Austrian empire. Both parties now united to consider the propriety of copying this model, which was for the most part made after the plan of the constitutional edifices in Belgium and Baden. The adaptation of these to the small countries for which they were destined, composed as they were of homogeneous elements, by no means argued a like capability in them to suit the widely-extended Austrian monarchy, which was formed after the fashion of a piece of mosaic. The concurrence of the ministerial council in this project was not obtained without the opposition of some of the members, one of whom, the Minister of Justice, Count Taaffe, retired from the ministry, shortly before the appearance of the chartered constitution, on April 19th. But the persuasions of the Minister of the Interior silenced the objections of his colleagues in this case, as in others, and his work made its appearance with the signatures of all of them attached. None of the statesmen who had assisted in the compilation of the decree of the 15th of March were then present, to defend its principles; Münch and Kübeck had, in the course of the month of March retired from business; Windischgrätz no longer filled the post which he had occupied on March 14th, in the conference on the question of the constitution; Hartig was absent on April 1; the Archduke Louis, who, on the 15th of the same month, was released from all share in public business, had been removed, with Pilgram, the day previously; and Kolowrat, on the 19th of April, was definitively deprived of the presidency in the ministerial council. The Archduke Francis Charles had received orders, on April 7th, to aid the emperor in the care of public busi-

ness, within the bounds marked out by the rules of the constitution, and to maintain the power of fully superintending the business transacted by the Ministerial Council (by which means all direct participation in the same was excluded). The appointment of the Archduke Francis Joseph was to Prague, but before his departure, according to the *Vienna Gazette*, the consent of the emperor was given that he should travel for some days through Tyrol, towards those parts of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom which then attracted general attention, in order to have a full view of the preparations and means of defence which Field Marshal Radetzky had collected, and by means of which, at the head of the courageous Austrian army, he opposed those agitators and enemies of peace, who had entered the country from foreign parts. By thus banishing all the advisers of the throne who, on March 14th, had counselled the constitutional reconstruction of the Austrian monarchy upon the basis of the existing provincial governments, and with the co-operation of deputies from the provincial parliaments, the eloquence of the Minister of the Interior might easily succeed in persuading the Ministerial Council to abandon the course already chosen, and to pursue another, which, in his opinion, was shorter and more dignified; since the reasons which had been adduced on the 14th of March for erecting the edifice of the constitution on those pillars of the state which were still in existence, supported as those reasons were by subsequent events, ceased to be maintained by any parties.*

* These remarks of "Genesis" seem to have induced Count Ficquelmont to state, in his pamphlet, "Aufklärungen über die Zeit vom 20 Marz bis zum 4 Mai, 1848," published by Joh. Ambr. Barth, at Leipzic,—the motives which determined him to vote for the grant of a constitution, "although the wording of the imperial patent of the 15th of March, 1848, prevented him from considering himself authorized to adopt any other course than that indicated by the patent." He had an aversion to any constitution which should be framed by a constituent

The birth of the chartered constitution (to which the army was called upon to swear allegiance by an order issued on

assembly, to be convoked in accordance with the political notions prevalent in April, 1848; for at that period no other electoral law would have been thought admissible for the convocation of the Imperial Diet, but that which the Assembly at Frankfort had enforced. He also lays stress on the circumstance that in the midst of the various causes of profound excitement a demand for the promised constitution was unanimously expressed." He lastly reminds us, "that in his capacity of minister to the reigning house he had not been able to countersign the document which modified the basis of the power and the position of the reigning house so long as that document had not been sanctioned by the united imperial house," and that consequently, in his presence, and under the presidency of the Archduke Francis Charles, a conference had been held, at which the Archduke Francis Joseph (the present emperor), Archduke Louis, and the remaining members of the imperial house then present at Vienna attended. After the introduction of a few modifications, which were essential in order to put to rest the conscience of the supreme council, a form of the mildest tone was adopted, which was more suitable to the times than the men. We feel pleasure in inserting in "Genesis" these remarks of a statesman so well known and highly respected by all the cabinets of Europe, because they confirm our opinion already given, that the minister-president, Count Ficquelmont, the council of ministers, and—as we have since learned—the council of the imperial family, merely submitted to the dictates of the times in leaving the path traced out on the 15th of March, when they accepted the project of a constitution forced upon them by the Minister of the Interior. We cannot, however, retract our assertion that the grounds which decided the state conference to choose that path in the night of the 14th were no longer defended by any one in the council of ministers on the occasion of adopting the chartered constitution. For although, as Count Ficquelmont tells us, the archdukes who had been present at the state conference expressed in the family council their opinion respecting Pillersdorf's project of a constitution before they quitted Vienna, they voted and acted at that time no longer as members of the cabinet, and charged with the government, but as agnates of the head of the dynasty. Any opposition on their part, in that capacity, to the constitution projected by the Minister of the Interior, who was still in possession of the popular favour, and whose project had already reached the throne, was at that time of no more avail than the opposition of the minister-president. The circumstance, also, that the free grant of a constitution was less prejudicial to the authority of the sovereign than if it were framed in co-operation with the provincial Diet, made the princes of the imperial house lean towards the project of the minister Pillersdorf. Though such conclusions were evidently correct, that minister ought still to have carefully weighed whether they could at that time find a practical application in Austria.

the same day that they renounced their allegiance to their colours) was celebrated by joyful displays of all kinds, as well as by a monstrous torchlight procession to the Imperial Burg, at which the emperor on the following day expressed his gratification in a cabinet letter to the Minister of the Interior, the contents of which Baron Pillersdorf published on April 27th, in the official part of the *Vienna Gazette*, tes-

Pillersdorf, if he had properly solved that question, would have immediately in March commenced his ministry by preparing the convocation of the provincial Diets, in order thus to calm the impatience of those who looked forward with eagerness to the promised constitutional government of the empire. The patent of the 15th of March had, on that very ground, been everywhere received by the majority with enthusiasm, because it had granted to the provinces a participation in framing the constitution. The radicals, however, whom it did not satisfy, were much less likely to be appeased by a chartered constitution. The Viennese press, which was ruling everything, had, until the first days of April, defended the patent in public opinion. A dispute even arose amongst noted literary personages about the honour of its authorship. In proof of this, we submit to the reader the reclamations of the editor of the *Constitutional Gazette of the Danube*, which he published in that journal on the 2nd of April, in order to vindicate that honour for himself against the popular poet Bauernfeld, who had been active during the days of March, and to whom that honour had been attributed. To risk, under such circumstances, the free grant of a constitution, instead of framing it, as had been decreed by the emperor, with the co-operation of provincial deputies, was a hazardous enterprise, for which the minister Pillersdorf alone is responsible, and before resorting to which he should have duly considered the "*quid valeant humeri.*" Had he not in March omitted to make the necessary preparations for assembling quickly, and with modifications suitable to the times, about twelve provincial diets, he would have had to meet in July, on the subject of framing a constitution for the country, those deputies only who would have been elected with caution, and in small numbers by those diets, instead of being obliged to resign office in the face of 379 deputies of the imperial Diet, the offspring of confused and stormy popular elections, and to leave the joint framing of a constitution, in conjunction with so many, and, for the greatest part, such badly-qualified debaters, to a man of the people, who, after wasting three months was likewise compelled to flee from the arena. We therefore are pleased to declare that we fully coincide with the pamphlet of Count Fiequelmont in all that concerns him personally, yet we do by no means deviate, as regards the objective value of the free grant of the constitution, from the opinion which we have in that respect already pronounced.

tifying his delight and approbation at the conduct of the National Guards, the several clubs,—viz., the Legal Political Reading Club, the Artists' Club, the Men's Singing Club,—and ordered that the inhabitants should be informed "that he felt in the innermost depths of his heart the great honour of being called upon to guide the destinies of such a people."

These gracious words of the emperor by no means failed in their effect on the joyful multitude; but they could not protect the child, whose birth was then celebrated, against the mischievous nature of its parent; which we have pointed out radicalism to have been. In its very nature, as in that of the Saturn of heathen antiquity, was implanted the impulse to devour its .own offspring. And such was actually the fate of the new-born constitution of May 15th.

4. The Austrian ministry had now abandoned the course which it had been directed to follow on its appointment, and had chosen another for itself; but even here it was unable to retain a firm footing on the steep declivity upon which it stood. It wanted the power to take advantage of the proper moment for abandoning the previous favourite system of yielding to every demand, in order to offer a determined opposition to demagogue excitements. The Minister of the Interior, in whose hands the police authority was placed, should have been chiefly responsible for this course. But he adopted no such measures, but continued to yield to the very persons whom he ought to have opposed with vigour. Many scandalous scenes were the consequence of this weakness. The two following occurrences will forcibly pourtray the existing state of things.

Pillersdorf, according to the statements in the newspapers, communicated to a deputation, composed of the citizens and students of Vienna, the proceedings which had been insti-

tuted on account of the assaults of the people in the month of March on the Liguorian priests, and which were now undergoing investigation. This irregular communication occasioned a great excitement in the university against the persons who were conducting this complaint against the violence of the people, more particularly against the Archbishop of Vienna, in consequence of which, on the night of May 2nd, the archbishop's house was surrounded by students, citizens, and National Guards, the archbishop was insulted with cats' music, and even the windows of his house, before which the German colours were planted, were shattered to pieces, the flags torn away, and the staff carried about as a trophy.

Count Ficquelmont (the provisional president of the ministry) had to endure a similar public insult, because he, also, was out of favour with the Vienna mob leaders. The latter sent their emissaries to him, who, unmindful of that German principle which is always so respected, that "my house is my castle," not only searched his official residence for him, but forced themselves violently into the dwelling of his daughter, in order to compel him to make a promise to vacate his office immediately. The cause of this act of violence was a suspicion that Count Ficquelmont, as former ambassador to Petersburg, entertained sympathies for Russia, and had occasioned the retirement of the War Minister Zanini, and the appointment of the Master of the Ordnance, Count Latour, to fill his place.*

* We are surprised at learning from the pamphlet, "Die Nieder Oesterreichischen Landstände und die Genesis, &c.," that already, on previous occasions, attempts had been even made by members of the Diet to drive from office the councillors of the crown who had displeased them. We read, at page 38 of that pamphlet, that the Estates of Lower Austria twice suggested the necessity of his resignation to Count Hartig, who at that time was Minister of State and Conference, without a portfolio, and that fact has been confirmed from an authentic

The retirement of Count Ficquelmont caused the presidency in the council to pass to Baron Pillersdorf, according to the announcement of the *Vienna Gazette* of the 5th of May, in its official part. The public insults offered to persons entitled to respect, and filling high situations, the violation of the sanctity of private dwellings, the disturbance of tranquillity during the night in the streets of Vienna, the contempt for that privilege which belongs to every constitutional monarch, to place persons who enjoy his confidence at the head of his ministry; all these offences against freedom, order, and the royal prerogative, should have called for strong measures from the Minister of the Interior, who was at once chief of the police and also president of the ministry, in order, by punishing their authors and by the enforcement of proper measures, to prevent the repetition of similar outbreaks of unrestrained popular violence. In place of this, there was issued a paternal admonition of the emperor (dated May 4th), to his beloved citizens of Vienna, containing the counter-signature of Pillersdorf, in which he philosophises on the necessity of preserving public order, and in which the preservation of this order is committed to the honourable sense of the inhabitants, but particularly to the National Guard and the Academic Legion, with whom

source. Some expressions which the count ventured to use on the 13th of March towards the deputies of the Estates who had sought shelter in the apartments of Archduke Louis, are assigned as the reason of this suggestion. He is said to have told them, if they wished only for the protection of the Assembly against the unruly crowds of people, they should have applied for that protection to the authorities charged with the maintenance of order and personal security, who, if it had been claimed in due time, would certainly have afforded it.

The poignant truth contained in those words seems to have deeply touched several of the leading men of the Estates, and to have excited their fears of seeing any further demands resisted by the person who ventured to utter those words, in case he was to remain in the councils of the emperor. Count Hartig's mission to Italy relieved them from those fears.

they were united, as well as to the corps of citizens, with the fullest confidence, and containing the assurance of the emperor that he always felt safe in their presence, and that it could not but fill him and every properly-disposed person with deep grief to witness that, notwithstanding such protection, the freedom, the lives, the safety, and the honour of peaceable citizens were endangered. The minister who, after such repeated popular excesses, could propose to his sovereign such an address to his rebellious subjects, and sign his own name thereto, signed at the same time a record which can leave no room for doubting the judgment of the world as to his fitness for the office which he had undertaken.

It is said that the new president of the ministry paid a visit on the following day at the house of his predecessor, whom he had removed from office, and expressed his regret that he had been impeded on the previous evening in his exertions to protect him, by the pressure of the crowd; to which the latter replied, that surely other means than his personal presence were at the command of the Minister of the Interior, after a tumult had broken out, if he was really serious in his wish to provide protection. There could be no doubt of this in a theoretic point of view; but, as facts had already proved, the minister Pillersdorf was not the commander, but rather the subject, of the Vienna Town Council, and especially of the Administrative Council of the Academic Legion and the National Guard. Both these bodies, the offspring of the March revolution, were under the control of native and foreign agitators, so that in the last resource these persons were the real masters.

We have already observed that the departure from the course pointed out by the decree of March 15th, for establishing the constitution of the country, was the work of the Radicals, because such a constitution was intended to spring

from the existing provincial institutions, and a new state organization, upon the foundation of the Estates, was with them an object of aversion. They took advantage of the vanity of the Minister of the Interior, while they got rid of the necessity of preserving this basis, to institute the constitution of April 25th; but they became immediately discontented with this also, as it provided no radical law of election in correspondence with the object they had chiefly at heart, viz., a continuation of the revolution. They already by anticipation expressed their distrust of the results of the measure, on the score of its liberality, and they found fault with the composition of the first chamber, because the 150 members who were to vote for the same were to be chosen from amongst their own body (that is, from amongst the nobles and the higher ranks of the clergy), by the votes of the most important landowners, and the crown, in addition, had reserved to itself the right of nominating members of this chamber: they censured the system of secretly managing affairs, a relic of the old government, in consequence of which the chartered constitution, as well as the law of election, which was so very defective, could not be made subjects of discussion by the daily press before those measures had received the imperial decision. On May 5th, the committee of the students at Vienna presented a petition to the Minister of the Interior that the intended law of election for the choice of members for the second chamber should not fix any census, and that for members of the first chamber, in place of the most important land-ownership, an ownership which was not entirely unimportant should be a qualification, and that this election, also, should be made by the people, and that the crown should exercise no right of nomination therein. The same *Gazette* which, on the 27th of April, in its official part, had published the expression of

the emperor's satisfaction at the joy and gratitude exhibited by the loyal inhabitants of his capital, on their receiving the constitution, expressed itself in the following terms in a leading article on the 7th of May with relation to that very exhibition:—

"The constitution of April 25th was a Torso, which might just as well have belonged to a Thersites as to an Achilles. The conviction, or at least a suspicion, of this incompleteness was general—hence the lukewarmness with which the law, which was destined to solve the important question of our entire political existence, was received. There was no excitement, none of that excessive joy, with which the imperial announcement of May 15th was received and re-echoed, but there was also none of that irritation, none of that determined opposition which arose, for example, against the enactments with relation to the press, which was only one ingredient in the organization of our constitutional freedom."

The public contradiction which was offered by such observations to the emperor's cabinet letter of April 26th, and the opposition to the enactments concerning the press (which were unfortunately crowned with success), were sufficient indications that the chartered constitution would not be maintained without resistance.

As early as May 6th the ministry announced that several memorials had been presented to them in the name of the National Guard and of the Civic Guard of the capital, by members of the council of administration of that guard, as representatives of their companies, in the name of the committee of the council and of the students of Vienna, making numerous demands on the subject of the assembling of the approaching Diet, the intended law of election, the formation of a ministry for the exclusive superintendence of agriculture, trade, and commerce, the employment of the idle

by means of public works, and the necessity of holding daily open and confidential communications with the public, on the circumstances of the time and on their own views (that is, the views of the ministry), with relation to the same. In place of rejecting with bold determination such officious intermeddling with legislative affairs and matters of administration, the minister offered excuses for what he had not yet performed or said, promised to pay speedy attention to the several demands of the different respectable bodies, and philosophized on the necessity of maintaining order, tranquillity, and confidence, in sweet sentimental tones; but did not neglect obediently to announce to his masters, the institution, on the 9th of May, of two new ministerial offices, one for the management of public works, the other for agriculture, trade, and commerce. The first was filled by the former professor of natural history, who was afterwards director of the imperial porcelain manufactory, and subsequently director of the tobacco manufactory, the privy councillor Andreas Baumgartner, a worthy, plain man of business; the latter was filled by Baron von Doblhoff, a leader of the opposition and reform party in the Lower Austrian Estates, as that body existed previous to the month of March. This new minister possessed no experience in business, and was so little acquainted with matters and persons not comprised in the province of Lower Austria, that in reply to questions in the Diet, put to him as Minister of the Interior, he could only answer in the style that Majocchi, the witness from Lombardy, formerly answered in the celebrated green-bag process in London, who, in his prepared answers of "*non lo so,*" or "*non mi ricordo,*" won for himself such a laughable notoriety with his hearers and readers of that time. Doblhoff, in like manner, made himself ridiculous in the following instance:—Two months and a half after his appointment

to the ministry, in the sitting of the Diet of July 25th and 26th, he was unable to offer any explanation to the question of the deputy Mahalsky, "how it happened that, in addition to Count Stadion, who was governor of Galicia, two other persons were acting there in an official capacity?" He could only make reply, that as he had but lately been appointed Minister of the Interior, he must request indulgence till the next sitting of the Diet; which ignorance of the minister occasioned the wits of Vienna to announce as a prize essay, "that a proper reward will be given to the Minister of the Interior if he can say, by the next sitting of the Diet, who is the governor of the province of Galicia."

The creation of these two places, and the appointment of Doblhoff as minister, had, in the estimation of those who usurped the authority of the government, the value and effect of a new concession, and tended to increase their boldness.

5. The ease with which the Vienna demagogues succeeded in accomplishing their wishes, encouraged them to be no longer content with half measures, and emboldened them to require the formal recognition of that popular authority, which had hitherto existed merely by permission.

They declared loudly, and without reserve, that nobody would believe either that the chartered constitution was anything more than a temporary expedient, unless it were adopted either expressly or tacitly by the next Diet, or that a charter in the old meaning of the word could at the present day be instituted by the government, and that, therefore, the next Diet must infallibly have authority to frame a constitution. The system of two chambers was loudly censured, and even the lower order of nobles, who should at least have been contented with this system, were willing to see every approximation to the aristocratic prin-

ciple banished from the first chamber. The election law, which was sanctioned by the emperor on May 9th, upon the unanimous proposal of the Ministerial Council, occasioned the most violent outcries against the government, because the preponderance of the influence of the aristocracy in the first chamber could be evidently foreseen as the result.

The Political Central Committee of the Vienna National Guard formed the focus in which were concentrated the rays of discontent, mistrust, anger, and opposition, which streamed from all quarters. The origin of a Political Central Committee commenced with the time when the university, before the organization of an Academic Legion, had taken the lead in the struggle for freedom. When, at a later period, after the formation of this legion and its union with the National Guard, an administrative council was formed by means of representatives from each company of the Guard, in order to arrange all matters relating to the service, this committee invited the National Guard as well as the armed Civic Guard to send plenipotentiaries to attend their consultations, which request was cheerfully obeyed, and caused the institution of "The Political Central Committee of the Vienna National Guard." In imitation of the preliminary parliament of Frankfurt, this committee, in the absence of any other assembly of popular representatives, pretended to act as the expression of public opinion, and claimed authority in opposition to a government hitherto never controlled in its tendencies, which were destructive of freedom. The Minister of the Interior thought such a control not only becoming, but submitted to its influence in obedience to the same maxims which had induced him to entertain members of the Academic Legion daily at his table, and to establish in the ministerial offices (formerly the palace of the Bohemian Court Chancery) a department, presided over by the celebrated

Professor Endlicher, in order to maintain an uninterrupted communication with the Aula. If the pure morals of the philosopher deserve commendation, who wished that he possessed a transparent house, in order that his every action might be under observation, the optimism of the statesman must surely provoke a smile of pity, who sought to rule the state from the centre of a transparent cabinet, particularly in a time of unbridled licentiousness, when hostile factions were perpetually opposed to each other. The committee, consisting of 200 members, made no secret that it would only consider its mission accomplished after the interment of the election law, which had, in truth, been still-born, and after a real representation of the people should have been established; and thus a government should exist for the people of Austria, enjoying their perfect confidence, and not, as was now the case, possessing the full and well-deserved mistrust of the nation. These sentiments were published by the journal which was employed by the government to make its official announcements, namely, the *Vienna Gazette* (evening supplement, No. 44), and which was, therefore, officially circulated—a circumstance for which we should vainly look for an example even in the pages of the French *Moniteur* in the times of the first French revolution. This committee furthermore neglected no arts to win the favour of the mob both in town and country. All complaints, demands, or requests of the inhabitants of the town and the suburbs received attention and advice from the Aula. Under the pretext of a dissuasion from opposition to the landlords, an address of the students of Vienna was published to the people, in which they announced themselves as the warmest friends and most vigilant defenders of public freedom, and laid claim to the most complete popular confidence. The working classes, above all,

were cajoled by the zeal with which the Aula had insisted on the undertaking of public works, and on the appointment of a ministry for that purpose. To the men who sought to establish the rule of popular supremacy we must concede the possession of astonishing skill in the pursuit of their object. They displayed this in selecting a fit moment for destroying the constitution of April 25th. They availed themselves for this purpose of the discontent expressed by the National Guard at an order of their commander, Count Hoyos, because the Political Central Committee was abolished by that order, as being inconsistent with the nature and character of an armed body. At first the National Guard was induced by the committee to remonstrate with its commander, but afterwards, when Count Hoyos was found to be firm and inflexible, they rushed in tumult to the ministry with a clamorous petition to revoke the order. This happened on May 15th. The ministers assembled on that day for one of their ordinary consultations. The president had received notice of an impending popular disturbance, and observed to his colleagues that it would be advisable to bring their deliberations to an early close. But the National Guards were more prompt than the ministers ; they forced themselves into the Imperial Burg (where the Ministerial Council was imprudently holding its sittings, in a room close to the ante-room of the emperor's residence, although there was no want of a locality adapted for such a purpose in the palace of the Minister of the Interior) ; a deputation from the Central Committee proceeded to the council and demanded the revocation of the order alluded to, an alteration of the election law, and (in order, as they pretended, to appease the anger of the people against the government, to whom they attributed the intention of abolishing by military force the freedom which had

been extorted) the promise that the calling out the military to preserve order should in future only take place at the request of the Guard, and that the patrolling of the Burg should be shared by the Guard in conjunction with the military. The ministerial president, in his usual fashion, addressed sweet words to the rioters, and besought them to retire in order that their demands might be taken into immediate consideration. The Vienna garrison, at the first indication of a tumult between the National Guard and the people, was drawn out in its accustomed place of assembling. The pressure of the mob was momentarily increased by the addition of the workmen, who hastened to the spot. The object of this gathering was known to but few; the majority were satisfied at hearing that the government had evinced the most hostile intentions, which it was necessary to oppose; that for this purpose the students and National Guards were ready, but must be supported in their endeavours by the brave working classes. But the Ministerial Council resolved not to give in so quickly as the impatience of those who waited outside had led them to expect. Whereupon Giskra, doctor of laws and of philosophy, one of the most active of the violent since the days of March, and subsequently celebrated as a deputy in the Frankfurt Parliament, rushed into the room with a cry that it was now too late, that the people would no longer be controlled, that the demands of the Central Committee would no longer satisfy them, and that they demanded a Constituent Diet without two chambers. The stairs which led to the place where the ministers were assembled and to the residence of the emperor were already beset with armed guards. The council now thought to subdue the storm by promising to procure a concession to the demands made by the Central Committee.

No allusion was made to the other measures proposed by Giskra. The proclamation of the ministerial determination satisfied the multitude. The ministers might separate peaceably ; the imperial ante-rooms, which were filled with armed men, who boasted that the bullets were already in the barrels of their muskets, were gradually emptied, and the evening found the streets of the city frequented only by peaceably-disposed individuals. But the party of whom Giskra had been the speaking-trumpet, thought they had not sufficiently profited by the commotion of the day, and wished to prosecute their own plans, unknown though they were to the great mass of the Vienna population, as they supposed the same feelings of fear, which had been the cause of the late concessions, could also produce the repeal of the chartered constitution and the convocation of the so much wished for Diet for the purpose of framing a constitution. During the operation of this fear, therefore, on the mind of Pillersdorf, who was at the head of the executive power, they endeavoured, at the approach of night, to regain what they had lost ; certain members of the Central Committee conducted a mob to his residence, forced themselves into his chamber, and extorted from him a written promise to persuade the emperor to make these further concessions. The terrified president did not neglect to fulfil his promise by surprising the emperor suddenly, without consultation with his colleagues, and as it is said, without even having previously made the presumptive heir to the throne acquainted with his intentions.

Thus arose the imperial proclamation of May 16th, whose most important and eventful feature, namely, that clause which destroyed the chartered constitution, and gave birth to a Diet for the purpose of framing a constitution, did not result from the resolutions of a Ministerial Council,

but was the work of one single minister, and was only adopted without a protest from the other ministers, because it was considered an event already completed, and which could not, under existing circumstances, be averted. This proclamation was as follows:—

"In order to quiet the disturbances which took place in our capital on May 15th, 1848, and for the sake of preventing a breach of the public peace by acts of violence, by the advice of our Ministerial Council, the withdrawal of the order issued on May 13th, 1848, to our National Guard, with relation to the proceedings of the Political Central Committee, has been decreed, and the two requests made by the National Guard have been granted, viz., that the city gates and the main guard at the Burg, in all its divisions, shall be occupied jointly by the military and the National Guard, and that the military shall be called on to afford necessary assistance only in cases when the National Guard shall require the same. By the advice of our Ministerial Council, in order to remove all remaining causes for displeasure and excitement, we annex to these resolutions the additional announcement, that the constitution of April 25th, 1848, shall be submitted to the immediate deliberation of the Diet, and the provisions of the election law which have given cause for apprehension, shall be subjected to a new examination.

"That the establishment of the constitution by means of the Diet convoked to frame a constitution, may be effected in the most certain manner, we have decreed that only one chamber shall be elected for the first Diet, in pursuance of which no census shall be established for the votes, and all doubts of an insufficient representation of the people shall be set at rest.

"We cherish the conviction that all classes of citizens will

await with patience and confidence the early opening of the Diet.

"FERDINAND.

"PILLERSDORF, Minister of the Interior and Provisional President.

"SOMMARUGA, Minister of Justice and Public Instruction.

"KRAUS, Minister of Finance.

"DOBLHOFF, Minister of Trade.

"BAUMGARTNER, Minister of Public Works."

"*Vienna, May* 16*th*, 1848."

When we compare the contents and expression of this imperial proclamation with the decree of March 15th, we must feel astonished at the rapid march of the revolution and the depression of the power of the government during the short period of two months. When we remember the words addressed by the emperor to the inhabitants of Vienna on April 26th, only three weeks before, "that he felt in the deepest foundation of his heart the great honour of being called on to guide the destinies of such a people," we must feel the most painful sensations at witnessing this people so quickly hurried away to deeds of violence, which the sovereign could only subdue by revoking the same constitution, for the grateful reception of which he had addressed to the inhabitants of Vienna those expressions of his satisfaction. The epithet "Constituent" (Assembly of the Realm) was not even avoided in the proclamation, although it might have been equally as well described by the epithet "next," without giving room for the charge of any mystery or uncertainty in expressing the imperial determinations; but that epithet having been inserted in such a manner, afforded an opportunity, soon after the assembling of the Diet, for introducing the epithet "sovereign" as part of the descrip-

tion, and thus to declare that the power of government emanated from the people. If the words of the imperial proclamation were calculated to proclaim the triumph of the revolution, this result was accomplished in a still more undoubted manner, by a ministerial announcement published in the evening edition of the *Vienna Gazette* of the same date (May 16th), which we here subjoin literally, as a most remarkable document, and one that completely explains the character of the ministry :—

"Since the withdrawal of the order issued by the commander of the National Guard against the conduct of the Political Committee of the same, has been demanded from the assembled Ministerial Council by repeated deputations, the commander has not thought it proper to grant the request, accompanying his decision with the threat that he would resign his authority into the hands of the king, if the National Guard should evince a want of confidence in him.

"This declaration was received with decided disapprobation, and with the answer that the public safety and tranquillity were gravely threatened, and that the worst was to be apprehended. Moreover, the ministers received very alarming information on the matter in dispute, and on the great sympathy and interest which the subject of the petition had excited, and upon the measures that might be required to oppose any display of feeling on the part of the people, who were in a state of great excitement. These circumstances demanded the most serious consideration, for thousands of workmen had thronged into the town, and showed a disposition to take violent steps.

"In this state of things, the ministers considered it their most sacred duty, regardless of all personal reflections, to provide for the safety of the throne, the dynasty, and the unity of the monarchy. These duties obliged them to make

great sacrifices in order to avert a still greater misfortune. They had cancelled the obnoxious order, had established, in conformity with the determination of his majesty the joint occupation of the gates of the town and of the main guard at the Burg by the military and the National Guard, and had also ordered that the military should only be called upon to act in those cases of extreme danger, when the National Guards themselves should require it. But even these concessions were not sufficient to tranquillize the general excitement. The establishment of the constitution by a Diet convened to frame a constitution was called for, as also a revision of the election law, and by granting these demands was the preservation of peace only declared possible. Called upon, before all things, to protect the sacred power of his majesty, the constitutional throne, and the safety of the royal residence, which is seriously threatened, and also to strengthen the conviction that his majesty is sincere in each and all the concessions which he has made, the ministers have assumed the responsibility of proposing to his majesty to declare that the first Diet shall be convoked to frame a constitution, and that the election for the same shall be confined to one chamber, for which purpose the elective qualifications established for the senate shall upon this occasion be sufficient, and the temporary election law shall be submitted to a new examination. Little as they are disposed to shrink from the responsibility of these measures, they feel, however, that such proceedings, and their tendency, have diminished their power and opportunity of contributing by their services to the support of the throne.

"Their feelings of duty have therefore placed them under the unavoidable necessity of surrendering into the hands of his majesty the ministerial functions intrusted to them, in

order that the monarch may have an opportunity of surrounding himself with councillors who enjoy a more general and more powerful support."

In this declaration we may observe a repetition of that style of language which in the month of March had been used by the Lower Austrian Trades' Union, by the Austrian citizens when presenting their petitions, and by those well-intentioned meddlers, for the purpose of intimidating the emperor and the royal family with the prospect of the near danger that threatened the throne and the ruling dynasty, and thus rendering them incapable of resistance. In the mouth of any speaker, such words might serve for the expression of exaggerated apprehensions or as threats ; but when uttered publicly by the ministry, they were entitled to all the serious weight of an admission that the revolution was now in its highest phase, because the throne and the person of the sovereign were no longer considered sacred. An admission of this kind could only be permitted to a ministry which should find it necessary to justify the unsparing use of the sword ; when used as a justification of their unconditional surrender, without any attempt at resistance, it must be considered to operate as a premium on rebellion and high treason : that such was the effect, is proved by the history of the October days,—a history which is written in letters of blood. The establishment of an act of government, such as that of May 15th, on the foundation of such fears, must, under any circumstances, have been condemned as impolitic, even when such fears might be well grounded. But these apprehensions were erroneous ; for the throne of the Austrian emperor did not rest upon a single pillar, viz., upon the capital of Vienna,—it was supported also by the provinces, which were by no means disposed to bow patiently under the yoke of the Vienna demagogues. If the revolution of

March found an echo in the provinces, this only resulted because it promised an accomplishment of the wishes which were generally felt for improvement, in accordance with the sentiments of the age ; but that this improvement should lead to the destruction of the throne, was never contemplated by Austrians, Styrians, Illyrians, Hungarians, Croats, Tyrolese, Bohemians, Moravians, Silesians, or others ; at least not by the overwhelming majority of those very persons who had so unequivocally stepped forward to oppose the revolutionary party of Vienna, immediately after they had made a public avowal of such principles. But, in addition to this, the loyalty, attachment, and bravery of the imperial army supplied a firm pillar to the throne. Possibly, indeed, a fanatical mob might, on May 15th, have threatened the person of the emperor, a danger which ought to have been avoided by other means than by ministerial timidity. If these means were not available on March 13th, it must be ascribed to the fact that the events of that day were as surprising as a thunderstorm in a clear sky ; but, in truth, even this would not have been a subject of surprise, if the voices of those prophets had not been neglected who, under shelter of the surrounding trees, foretold the approaching storm. Long previous to May 15th the thunder clouds had threatened fearfully ; time had been allowed to discharge the duty of providing lightning conductors for the protection of the emperor and his family : in case of extremity, the garrison of Vienna might have gathered round those dear heads, and have accompanied them from the city to a place of protection, as occurred in the following October under far less favourable circumstances. The conclusion of that ministerial explanation is, in truth, a remarkable event in the history of constitutional ministries. One may observe, from a study of such histories, that ministers always conceive it their duty to abandon their

posts when they cannot approve of the demands of the people, or fail to secure the concurrence of the crown in the measures they propose ; but that a ministry which had advocated the popular wishes before the sovereign, in which wishes they had found the latter willing to acquiesce, should, in a moment of excitement, retire from office and leave to other men the completion of their own plans,—this is an event which has never yet happened in a constitutional state either on this or on the other side of the ocean.

6. The immediate consequence of the events alluded to in that ministerial explanation appeared on the following day. It is important to bear in mind how this result, namely, the departure of the emperor and the imperial family from the capital, was viewed by the ministry itself, and publicly announced in the two following proclamations :—

" This evening, at nine o'clock, a verbal and unexpected communication has been made to the ministry, that his majesty the emperor, for the benefit of his health, accompanied by the empress, and the illustrious Archduke Francis Charles, with his illustrious wife and three children, have left the palace and have taken the route to Innsbruck. The undersigned ministers, who are unacquainted with the reason and immediate motives of this journey, consider themselves bound to communicate it to the inhabitants of the capital. They have also considered it their first duty to despatch a confidential person to his majesty during the night, namely, the Count Hoyos, commander of the National Guards, to make an urgent request that the people might be tranquillized by the return of the emperor, or by a public statement of the reasons which render such a course impossible. The same urgent request will be made to the archduke, through the medium of the president, Count Wilczek. The Minis-

terial Council are sensible of their sacred duties in this important moment, to dedicate their whole care and attention to the interests of the country, and to act on their responsibility as circumstances may demand. The support of their fellow-citizens, and of all well-disposed persons, will enable them to preserve peace and order, and contribute to tranquillize the public mind. All further information upon this subject, which the ministers may acquire, will be communicated truly and fully to the public; and as soon as they shall receive from the monarch any direct orders or communications, they will publish the same without delay.

"The temporary Ministers,

"PILLERSDORF, SOMMARUGA, KRAUS, LATOUR,
DOBLHOFF, BAUMGARTNER.

"*Vienna, the* 17*th May*, 1848."

"The Ministerial Council has read in the non-official part of the *Vienna Gazette* of this day, a comparison of the departure of his majesty the emperor from Vienna, which is there considered only as prospective, with the flight of King Louis XVI., with the observation appended, 'that the last day of his majesty's presence here would be the first day of the republic.'

"The Ministerial Council assuredly acts as the organ of the united inhabitants of Vienna, as well as of all persons loyally disposed towards their good monarch, in repudiating, with the utmost indignation, all participation in such sentiments, or in any views of the inhabitants of Vienna to overturn the monarchial constitution. In such an interpretation of the decision of his majesty, with respect to his intention of taking up his temporary residence in this or that part of the constitutional monarchy, the Ministerial Council can only

recognize a deplorable error, or the calumny of a few individuals, against the unshaken loyalty of Austrians of all races to their monarch.

"The temporary ministry owes this explanation to all the inhabitants of Vienna; and in full concord with the whole population of Vienna, and in union with the National Guard, in all its divisions, and also with the military, they will firmly and resolutely adopt measures, not only to maintain the public safety and tranquillity, but they will also with earnest determination protect monarchial order, and the inviolable loyalty and attachment of subjects to their beloved emperor.

"The temporary Ministers of his Majesty
the Emperor.

"*Vienna, May* 18*th*, 1848."

These two ministerial proclamations suffice to display the revolution in its complete development. The sovereign with his family fugitives, and the supreme power in the state exercised by a temporary ministry, who coolly admit that they are ignorant of the cause, and know not what they can do more than send confidential persons in pursuit of the illustrious travellers to persuade them to return; and who, when a daring newspaper threatens that a republic will commence if the emperor should leave Vienna, in place of handing over the editor to the strong arm of the law, content themselves with words, which, however mighty they sound, must be considered as no more than empty echoes, after everything which that same ministry had in the previous days been known to tolerate and to utter.

The destructive party took advantage of the departure of the emperor and his family to heap abuse on the aristocracy, who were charged with enticing the former away to avenge

themselves on the citizens of Vienna, and on a pretended camarilla, who were said to have advised such a course. Both statements were grossly untrue. The occurrences of May 15th, and the publications of the following days, must assuredly have intimated to the imperial family that they were no longer safe in Vienna ; and at the moment when the emperor could no longer enjoy the privilege, exercised by every private individual, of confiding the care of his house to the guardians of his own choice, the Empress Maria Anna must have called to mind the captivity of Louis XVI., since she had passed her years of childhood in the island of Sardinia, whither her parents had fled after the French revolution, amongst the traditions of that time of terror : we can, therefore, readily understand her anxiety to withdraw from similar dangers which had been often threatening since the month of March, before the care, or rather the watching, of the Imperial Burg should be undertaken by those same National Guards, of whom the greater part had already so shamefully and audaciously violated their duty to the emperor, and the reverence which they owed to the imperial family. The preparations for the united occupation of the Burg by the military and the National Guards were to be completed on May 17th ; no time was therefore to be lost, in order to realize this reasonable desire. The strictest secresy was therefore observed, and none of the household were made acquainted with the plan. A drive to Schönbrunn was undertaken in the evening, and from thence orders were given to proceed along the road. One of the chamberlains who was present, was then instructed to acquaint the Minister of War with the departure of the court. The latter hastened to inform the other ministers of the fact, and detained the bearer of the news in the palace of the Minister of War, until he had been examined by the Ministerial Council concerning his errand ; but he was able to

communicate nothing further than that he had been told the emperor had resolved upon a journey to the mountains of Tyrol for the benefit of his health, and that the family would not leave him alone. The court and the aristocracy of Vienna were not less astonished at this departure than the ministry and the other inhabitants of the city.

7. This wisely-determined and prudently-managed decision of the emperor to withdraw himself from the influence of the Vienna democracy, if it had only been combined with other measures, might have put a stop to the further progress of the revolution; isolated, however, as he remained, he only gave opportunity for the formation of a dangerous ministerial regency, which led to violent recriminations, and strenuous exertions to bring the court back again to Vienna. This, however, was only effected, when such attempts were repeated in no very delicate manner by the Diet that assembled in Vienna in the month of July, without having previously restrained the excesses and violence which had driven the emperor from his residence. In the first burst of surprise and sorrow which seized all classes in Vienna at the absence of the court, the ministry might have found a powerful support even in the majority of the National Guards, if they had taken advantage of the movement to suppress the excesses of a part of that guard, of the press, of the Aula, and of the clubs. But in this respect they did nothing which was effective. In the room of the Political Central Committee, which had voluntarily dissolved itself, they allowed a Committee of Safety to be established, which was only calculated to weaken the efficiency of the legally-constituted organs of government. On May 20th they published a provisional law in relation to the press, which, however, could not but be inefficient to meet the pressing demands of the time, because its application depended on conditions which demanded a consi-

derable time to complete, viz. the institution of public judicial proceedings and properly-constituted juries. The dissolution and re-construction of the corps of National Guards, which had become false to its original design, had never been contemplated, any more than measures against abusing the right of holding meetings. On May 25th, for the first time, the ministry, on the requisition of a professor, who in March had placed himself at the head of the movement, but who was now tired of the daily-increasing violence of the students, determined to dissolve the Academic Legion.* This resolution was to have been carried into operation on May 26th by means of the National Guard, and military interference (in accordance with the imperial proclamation of May 15th) was only to be allowed on their application to that effect. But, instead of this mode of proceeding being observed, the military alone, in insufficient numbers, were opposed to the Academic Legion ; members of the latter hastened as deputies to those companies of the National Guard who sympathized with them, and also to the numerous workmen who were assembled in Vienna and the suburbs, a body of men whom the students had ever patronised, and whom they now implored for assistance, alleging that a reaction had already commenced; that the Committee of Safety, formed after the departure of the emperor, for the

* It was the same professor to whom we have already twice alluded without naming him, first as an opponent of the Austrian policy in a law exercise for the doctor's degree, and subsequently as a member of the university deputation, which, on the 13th of March, demanded the arming of the students. The "*Geissel*" (Scourge), a Viennese journal, in its criticism of the "Genesis," intended to do homage to him in its number 277 of the year 1819, by publishing his name in reference to the above dissertation, as that of *a man of progress before March*. We believe it to be equally honourable to him if we mention him here as *a man of reflection after March*, and we therefore take leave to repeat the words of the "*Geissel*." *The professor who has twice been alluded to is Hye, the ministerial councillor.*

preservation of peace and order, had sold itself to the aristocracy and the camarilla; that the concessions which had been already extorted were to be abolished by military violence, and that for this purpose Prince Windischgrätz was already approaching Vienna with a considerable body of troops. This appeal for assistance, supported though it was by falsehood, did not fail to produce its intended effect. The streets of the city were soon closed up with barricades, filled with National Guards, and with the armed workmen, who were their tools, and were stripped of the pavement, which was immediately collected in heaps on the parapets of the windows of the houses, in order to be hurled down upon the passing military. But such preparations for defence were altogether unnecessary, for no attack was made on the disturbers of the public peace. The most prominent members of the Committee of Safety, as also the President of the administration of Lower Austria, Count Montecuculi, escaped by flight from the popular tumult, and the Ministerial Council once more purchased tranquillity by a complete concession to the demands of the rioters, which was announced by the ministerial proclamations of the same and of the following day. (See Appendix, Sup. 2.)

This new triumph of the revolution increased its pretensions in the same degree that it weakened and humiliated the government. From the ruins of the Committee of Safety, which had been scattered on May 26th, and from the fragments of the Political Central Committee, which had previously existed, a sort of revolutionary assembly was formed under the title of "a committee of the citizens, National Guards, and students of Vienna, for the preservation of peace and order, and the protection of the rights of the people." In the latter part of this title was involved an usurpation and demand to exercise a constant control over the proceedings of every minister, which soon grew into a complete protectorate,

so that no minister could afterwards act in pursuance of his own conviction, but only according to the permission of his protector, who could depend, moreover, for support against his pupil in the protection of a part of the National Guard, the Academic Legion, and the mass of the working classes. The ministry, in the proclamation of May 26th, had promised the workmen to provide employment for them, and had thus admitted that that body was entitled to the dangerous privilege of requiring the government to provide them with the means of subsistence; a demand which, wherever it has been allowed, has never failed to produce the most melancholy conflicts, and of which the working classes of Vienna had never previously dreamt. In the name of the Ministerial Council, Pillersdorf, on May 27th, declared the above-mentioned lately-formed committee to be independent of all other authorities, and thus established its formation upon a legal basis. At the same time the minister announced that the alternative had been offered to the emperor, either to return to Vienna immediately, or to appoint an imperial prince as his representative, an announcement of the most dangerous consequence to the state. Thus a ministerial recognition was given to that maxim claimed by the arrogance of the Viennese, that the Austrian monarchy could only be governed from Vienna, and the destructive example of the Magyars was followed, who had been able, in the room of their king, so long as he resided beyond the boundaries of Hungary, to establish a viceroy, who almost entirely superseded the influence of the king himself.

8. On May 20th the emperor issued a manifesto from Innsbruck to his people, the publication of which took place on the same day, and on the following day was announced by means of cabinet letters to the whole monarchy, as well as to the palatine in Hungary and to the minis-

terial president in Vienna. The causes of the emperor's withdrawing from his capital were therein publicly stated, and the feelings of the sovereign at the injury offered to him on May 15th, by the Academic Legion, a part of the National Guards, and the citizens of Vienna, were fully expressed. But on May 25th, the day when this manifesto first appeared in Vienna, the moment was past in which these words of the emperor, which were at once firm and mild, could have produced a certain and decided influence upon the events of the capital, namely, when the first amazement was felt at the expulsion of the imperial family; they echoed now without effect, and were even used on the very next morning as a means to provoke excitement, after a fresh conflict had been commenced between the revolution and the government, and the former had proved victorious without a struggle. An admonition of the sovereign, when it is not obeyed, should ever be followed by strong measures, else majesty will lose both in respect and power. Not only, however, were such measures not resorted to, but the moral impression of the manifesto was entirely effaced by a subsequent imperial proclamation, which was issued from Innsbruck on June 3rd, inasmuch as its address "To the loyal Inhabitants of my Capital," as well as its contents, which announced a more friendly disposition of the emperor, excited astonishment, after the fresh insults that were in the mean time offered to the authority of government in Vienna. (See Appendix, Sup. 3.) This alteration, as it could not have been the effect of circumstances, must be ascribed to the influence of the advisers of the crown who had in the interim joined the sovereign. The manifesto of May 20th was a complete expression of the feelings and sentiments of Ferdinand; no minister had assisted in its compilation—none of them had prepared it. The proclamation

of June 3rd, on the contrary, was an act of government for which two ministers, then in Innsbruck, Wessenberg and Doblhoff, were responsible. The former of these two ministers had been nominated as successor of Ficquelmont, as the minister of the imperial house and for foreign affairs, as well as in the presidency of the Ministerial Council, and had come from Freiburg to Innsbruck; the latter had been hastily sent by Pillersdorf to the emperor from Vienna. Wessenberg, since his mission to London, after the French revolution in 1830, had fallen out with Metternich, and was therefore favoured by the enemies of the latter; he was an honourable diplomatist and a liberal of sterling value.* Doblhoff was a friend of reform and a zealous leader of the opposition party in lower Austria; by his connection with that party, he therefore knew their sentiments, and by means of the explanations which he could give to the minister, he managed to acquire his full confidence. It is true that he was neither a man of business nor a statesman, but yet he was better acquainted with the more intimate affairs of the government than the ministerial president himself. We may here perceive that the words which these two men put into the mouth of the emperor partook of that character of supreme forbearance, which had marked all

* The well-informed author of the review of the "Genesis," which appeared in the first number of the twenty-fifth volume of the "Historiche Politische Blätter, &c.," corrects our statement of a rupture having existed since 1830 between Metternich and Wessenberg. The latter minister had incurred the displeasure of the emperor, who considered him to have exceeded his instructions in signing, in 1831, a certain protocol relating to the regulation of questions at issue between the kingdom of the Netherlands and Belgium. He had since that period disappeared from the diplomatic stage. This disappearance was ascribed by public opinion to a divergence from the political views of Metternich. It equally explained the joyful welcome which was given to the retired statesman on his entry into the constitutional ministry of Austria.

the acts of the ministry since the month of March, but was not at all calculated to put an end to the revolution.

In all the provinces of the monarchy, as well as in Hungary and its crown lands, the manifesto of the emperor, of May 20th, had produced addresses of submission, and in every place where it was possible to suppose that the emperor might take up his residence, the wish was expressed to witness the royal family, who had been scared away from Vienna, establishing their abode there. But, however affecting these expressions of attachment and sympathy might be, and however sincerely those sentiments, which the addresses had called forth, might be shared by the majority of those persons, every attentive observer must have marked the injurious influence which had been produced in all parts of the empire on the minds of the people, by the repeated triumphs of the revolution over the power and authority of the government of Vienna, without encountering any serious or determined opposition. The imperial family was no doubt an object of pity with thousands; but pity is never calculated to exalt its object in the esteem of mankind; sentimental sympathy for a person who is the sport of fate never increases his power or authority, but, on the contrary, diminishes both, when sensations of admiration are not coupled with such a feeling. When Maria Theresa, supporting her little son upon her arm, advanced in front of the Hungarian Estates and confided her own fate and that of her child to the loyalty and valour of her Hungarian subjects, an enthusiastic and universal shout might well resound of "Moriamur pro Rege nostro Maria Theresa!" since, with the feeling of pity were united sentiments of admiration at the heroic courage of a woman calmly contemplating an approaching battle. The complaints uttered by Ferdinand the Good, with so much truth and dignity, on May 20th,

at the ingratitude of his capital, in order to produce a stronger impression than that of pity, ought to have been followed by deeds, at least when the transactions which took place at Vienna on May 26th showed that the imperial address was destined to remain unheeded. It was the duty of those councillors who influenced the imperial proclamation of June 3rd to take such steps. Instead of destroying, as they did by such means, all hope that the emperor was resolved to make no further concessions to the revolution, not only in Vienna, but universally, they should have persuaded the emperor to prove his intentions by his deeds. The appointment of a military governor armed with the most extensive powers, and a simultaneous establishment of martial law in Vienna, should have succeeded the insurrection of May 26th, in place of that paternal proclamation. The Vienna National Guard at that time had not the cannon which, in the month of July, were delivered to them from the imperial arsenal, and at that time the fury of the Viennese could give rise to no apprehensions for the imperial family, who were dwelling under the protection of the loyal mountaineers, and this pretence for weakening the power of the government could no longer be brought forward as the chief justification of an ever-yielding weakness.

9. The loss of respect by the government, in all parts of the empire, was more or less evident. In the capital of Bohemia it was most clearly displayed. There the committee from the Wenzelbad, who had returned in triumph from their second mission, in the beginning of April, had served as the nucleus of a national committee, of which Count Leo Thun, who had been lately appointed President of the Administration, became the chairman, and which, divided into twelve sections, was employed in preparing, considering, and propounding plans for the first Bohemian Diet. The first

sitting of this national assembly took place on April 13th, 1848. On May 1st, it issued an appeal to all their Slavonian brethren in the Austrian monarchy, which had been prepared by twenty-one members (without the assistance of their president), inviting them to take part in a meeting to be held on the 31st May, in the ancient Slavonian city of Prague, of persons enjoying the confidence of their nation, for the purpose of submitting to the attention of the German parliament in Frankfort the interests of the Slavonian nation, and of considering what should be their line of conduct amidst the important events of the times, inasmuch as the parliament of Frankfort, by its claim to incorporate into the German kingdom those Austrian countries which did not form part of Hungary, had threatened to destroy the union and independence of the Slavonian provinces. The National Committee had previously sent a deputation to Vienna to present an address to the emperor against the plan for electing deputies from Bohemia to the Constituent Assembly at Frankfort, the subsequent rejection of which, on the 29th April, had doubtless occasioned the appeal to their Slavonian brethren on May 1st. The aversion of the Bohemians to the Germanizing schemes of Vienna, as evinced in their justifiable dissatisfaction at the removal of the minister Ficquelmont and the events of May 15th, with their consequences, bore an appearance of legality, and made itself known in Prague with some apprehension of probable tumults. Out of the National Guard there, a Slavonian battalion was formed under the name of Swornost, with peculiar marks of distinction. The right of association was perverted to the establishment of clubs, as well of Slavonians as of Germans (called Slavia, Concordia, and so forth), who watched and opposed one another reciprocally. The Club, afterwards celebrated under the title

of Slowanska Lipa (the Slavonian Lime Tree), was instituted at that time, and at its general assembly on May 24th already amounted to 600 members, and its numbers daily increased. The streets of Prague were continually the scenes of disorders, of greater or less extent, which, though at first apparently attended only by a crowd of Jews, from motives of curiosity, soon assumed a political character. The provincial chief, Count Thun, became an object of dislike, because he was suspected of favouring the German more than the Slavonian party, and of favouring the election of deputies to the Frankfort parliament. In the sitting of the National Committee of May 23rd he defended himself from these charges, protesting that he had only obeyed the orders received from Vienna, and claiming, on this account, a renewal of the confidence which he had formerly enjoyed from his countrymen. How strong his desire was to withdraw the administration of the country from the influence of the Vienna ministry, is proved by his having established a provisional government for Bohemia, the existence of which first became known to the Minister of the Interior through the Prague newspapers ; a fact which would appear incredible, if the minister himself had not published the circumstance in the official part of the *Vienna Gazette* of June 3rd, 1848, No. 154. (See Appendix, Sup. 4.)

The members of the provisional government established by the provincial chief of Bohemia on May 30, were Palacky, the historian ; J. U. Dr. Rieger ; Borrosch, bookseller and town commissary ; Count Albert Nostiz ; J. U. Dr. Brauner ; Count William Wurmbrand ; J. U. Dr. Strobach ; and Herzig, manufacturer in Reichenberg. The political sentiments of these men, with the exception of the two counts, who did not become parliamentary deputies, were afterwards

intelligibly expressed in the parliaments of Vienna and Kremsier.*

The opening of the Slavonian Congress, which took place with great pomp on June 2nd, was calculated still more to increase the national fanaticism. The singing of the old national church hymn, "Swaty Waclawe," and numerous speeches, in which, partly in sorrow and partly in anger, the late oppressed state of the Slavonians was described, joined to a representation of the state of Vienna during the occurrences of May, occasioned a display which enabled a looker-on to foresee the violent disturbances which soon occured. The general in command, Prince Windischgrätz, who was a witness how the government of March 13th had, without preparation, opposed a popular tumult in Vienna, adopted the necessary military measures of precaution. These were here, as in other places, mistrusted as symptoms of a reactionary tendency. On June 7th, it had been resolved, in an assembly of the people at the Wenzelbad, to petition the emperor to remove Prince Windischgrätz from Prague, and to send the Archduke Charles Frederick to take the command in Bohemia. Meetings of workmen, especially of cotton-printers, took place. On the 10th, a great meeting of the Aula, in the university building (the Carolinum), agreed to

* The "Historische Politische Blätter," for Catholic Germany, by Phillips and Görres, furnishes, in the 4th part of the 25th volume, some explanations of Count Thun's actions, in order to prove their moral necessity. "Genesis" quoted merely facts as they were known, without judging of the principles and sentiments of the agents.

It was the curse of that time, that the most honest intentions often missed their true course, because the political whirlwind darkened the horizon.

On the 13th of June, Count Thun discovered a way to disclose his intentions, by the resistance which, whilst a prisoner in the Aula in Prague, he made with courageous disregard of self against the attempts of the mad partisans of Czechism to tempt him to lend his signature towards the furtherance of their schemes of separation.

request the commandant to withdraw some troops from a military position, and also a battery of cannon, with which he threatened the town, by means of a deputation for that purpose, to which request a refusal was returned. On the 12th, the division of the Swornost, singing Slavonian popular songs and insulting verses against the commandant, drew up before the house of the general, and paid no attention to the warning of the guard which was posted there, to desist. A shot came from an opposite house, intended for Prince Windischgrätz, who could be seen in his room, and laid his wife, who was standing at his side, dead on the floor. This gave the signal for the combat: the greater part of the German population of Prague joined the military, and on the evening of the 14th it seemed to be brought to a termination, when, in consequence of a multitude of armed Czechs, who arrived from the country during the night, it was again renewed, but soon afterwards ended in the complete submission of the town, the dissolution of the National Committee, many of whose members had taken part in the riot, either in person or by exciting the country people, and also produced the prorogation of the Bohemian Diet (on account of the interruption of the preparatory measures which had been undertaken by the above-mentioned committee), as well as the arrest of a great number of the rioters.

This was the first triumph of lawful authority over insurrection in that year of commotion, 1848, a result which, in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Milan, and other unimportant towns, was either not attempted or not completed. The unconditional surrender of an insurrectionary town was accomplished by the courage, the discretion, and the firmness of Prince Windischgrätz, in Prague; his moderation and tranquillity of soul could not be disturbed, either by the death of his beloved wife or by the wounds of his son; he found re-

sources in his high vocation, as the defender of social order and of individual freedom which was connected therewith, to restrain and curb the rash despotism of fanatical democrats, who threatened to extend their influence over Europe, till on the banks of the Moldau their course was stayed. On this account he will not fail to shine in the history of our age as a great character, notwithstanding that fortune afterwards faithlessly deserted him, in the pathless and houseless steppes of a country, whose chief cities were compelled in the course of the following winter to submit to his sword.* His services

* Should we not rather say he turned his back upon fortune? In order to solve that question, we are not sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances which caused the recall of the victor of Kapolna and Godollö from the chief command in Hungary, just at that moment, when he had, with his small army, taken a centrical position behind the Rakos, near Pesth; a position commanding those two important points, Ofen and the radius of blockading lines round Comorn.

Before sentence is pronounced, the rule of law "*audiatur et altera pars*," should be observed. According to our knowledge, Prince Windischgrätz has not, up to the present, broken silence as regards his Hungarian campaign. He also deserves, beyond doubt, a rich share of the outpourings of gratitude and admiration of rescued Austria, amidst the ovations which Vienna, in the autumn of 1849, most justly offered to the glorious vanquishers of the insurrection.

The emperor had *never* undervalued his services. The recall of the prince from the chief command in Hungary was accompanied by a most gracious cabinet letter, in which the emperor granted him temporary leave of absence, expressly reserving for him the chief command over all the troops on this side of the Isonzo. His companions in arms have given to him, the first vanquisher of the insurrection of 1848, a most honourable testimony of their admiration; inasmuch as the chapter of the order of Maria Theresa, composed of them, has of its own accord, placed the name of Field-marshal Prince Windischgrätz among the heroes deserving the grand cross of that order, though he had not solicited it, and notwithstanding that, according to the statutes of the order, it may only be granted except on the field of battle—in those cases in which those who recommend it are able to prove before the chapter the execution of some warlike feat, which, in accordance with the rules of the order, justifies the claim. The special manner in which Prince Windischgratz, in 1850, attained to the highest distinction of that order, which is so highly respected by the noble and brave of all nations, seems to us to be the most important acknowledgment of his heroic efforts in behalf of the throne and of social order.

in suppressing the efforts of the Slavonians in Prague to separate themselves from the empire, deserve the greater commendation, because his energetic conduct was neither called for nor supported by the ministry at Vienna. That ministry, after its customary fashion, wished to subdue this insurrection by conciliatory measures, and accordingly despatched two commisssaries to Prague, who made their appearance there on the morning of June 14th.

On the very evening of that day, the troops received orders to withdraw from their posts ; at the same time the numerous prisoners were set at liberty, and the house of Prince Kinsky, as well as the university building (the Carolinum), was abandoned by the military. On June 15th, in order to appease the rioters, it was announced officially that Prince Windischgrätz had determined to resign his authority, as commandant of Bohemia, into the hands of his majesty, and that, on the restoration of tranquillity, the patrol service would be performed jointly by the soldiery and the National Guard. If the inhabitants of Prague had been even temporarily content with these concessions, the capital of Bohemia would have presented the same spectacle of victorious popular insurrection which had been afforded by Vienna. It is to be ascribed alone to the continued violence of the rioters, to their increasing unreasonable demands, and to their fresh resort to acts of disorder, as well as to the courageous conduct of the two commissaries, who, on June 16th, declared their mission ended, and returned to Vienna, that Prince Windischgrätz, on the following day, insisted on the unconditional surrender of the town, and thus achieved the first victory of legitimate power over the revolution.*

* The importance of this victory was perceived from the plans of the rebel chiefs, which were discovered in the course of the judicial examinations, and at the head of whom the notorious Bakunin, who was sub-

10. In all parts of the empire, where the Slavonians are mixed with other nations, the feelings of excitement which originated in the old Slavonian city of Prague could not be without their effect, even if they only evinced themselves by tumults, and, owing to the triumph of the authority of the government in that town, not by deeds of violence.

At the same time, the party who advocated a junction of Austria with Germany, now raised their voices louder.

Classes as well as individuals angrily addressed their neighbours who appeared to possess any privileges, with the exclamation. "*Otes-toi, pour que je m'y mette,*" and that, too, at the very moment when these same people wished to make a compact together about a common constitution, by means of representatives whom they were to elect.

The prospect for the future was necessarily clouded. It was already sufficiently dark ; for, as school-boys who, free from the restraint of school, testify their joy by acts of rude-

sequently arrested by the Saxon government, exhibited great activity. The division of the Austrian empire into several states, in accordance with the various nationalities, the restoration of Poland being of first consideration, and the establishment of the sovereignty of the people, were the ends in view, for which the struggle had been waged. The darkness in which that widely-ramified conspiracy is enveloped, may perhaps be cleared up, if only the results of the investigation into another plot should be published, which was also on the point of breaking forth in Prague in 1849. The same chiefs who conducted the plot of 1848, figured in that of 1849. Their escape from punishment was owing to the abandonment of the proceedings against them, as decreed by the Emperor Ferdinand, on the recommendation of Dr. Bach, the Minister of Justice. The conspiracy which had been prepared by a society existing in Prague under the name of "Marcomania," for the 12th of May, 1849, and which was accidentally discovered only within a few days before it was appointed to break forth, purposed, beyond any doubt, to carry into execution those plans which had been frustrated in 1848 by the prudence and courageous resolution of Prince Windischgrätz. The proceedings against the participators in that second attempt at revolution will consequently, owing to the publicity of the trial, according to the new regulations, greatly remove the veil which still conceals the causes and the tendencies of the movement in Prague during the Whitsuntide of 1848.

ness and violence, so a great part of the citizens of Austria, who, in the words of the daily press, were happily released from thraldom and degradation, sought to proclaim themselves as freemen, by evincing a disregard for the laws and for the magistracy, by a contempt for everything that had been previously honoured, and by ignorantly and incompetently thrusting themselves into those spheres of action which were partly already occupied by the executive authority, partly reserved for the future legislative functionaries.

The capital was rife with such examples. Here two corporations usurped almost all authority ; they consisted of the Committee of the Citizens, National Guards, and Students, and of the Parochial Committee, consisting of a hundred members, who were chosen by the inhabitants, and which was instituted, after the events of May the 26th, in place of the Town Council that had been created in March. The working classes, who claimed the right of being provided with employment, a right that had been indirectly conceded to them, assumed a fearful degree of authority. Three nations, who could only hope to obtain the accomplishment of their own selfish wishes by weakening the central power of Austria—the Poles, the Italians, and the Hungarians—by means of numerous emissaries, used every art of persuasion and all the influence of eloquence and gold to keep alive in Vienna perpetual feelings of suspicion, mistrust, and discontent. The clubs of all sorts there existing afforded them zealous and active assistance. The most daring of these bodies was the Democratic Union, which held its meetings in the Hotel of the Roman Emperor, and its republican tendencies were so notorious, that it became an object of publicly acknowledged animosity to that section of the inhabitants of Vienna which was favourable to monarchy ; and these feelings of hatred, shortly after the opening of the Constituent Diet,

led to deeds of violence, for the suppression of which the National Guard was obliged to interfere. The earnest efforts of these National Guards to imitate the military, their daily firings and field manœuvres, their boisterous demands for cannon, and their entire deportment, particularly that of the Academic Legion, plainly showed that they would not shrink from a contest with the soldiery, if their seducers should require it.

A capital in the condition of Vienna at that time, which seemed to be the scene of every discord between different races of people, societies, and individuals, and which found itself in a condition like that which Hobbes describes as "*Bellum omnium contra omnes*," was clearly not suited to be the place of meeting for the deputies of a diet, through whose instrumentality an act was to be completed, which would for the first time give to the people a share in the rights of sovereignty, viz. the revision of the chartered constitution of April 25th.

11. This important Diet was convoked to meet in Vienna on June 26th, 1848. The election took place pursuant to the provisional election law of May 9th. so far as its enactments were applicable to the second chamber, that is, upon the broadest basis (without limiting the right of voting by any census), in two gradations, namely, first by choosing the electors, and afterwards by electing the representatives from them.

Where any doubt existed on the subject of the elective enactments, it was to be removed in a way favourable to the popular interests by the Minister of the Interior. The government officials were distinctly ordered, by means of a ministerial letter of June 5th, to abstain from interfering in any way with the elections, and to secure to those who were entitled, the full exercise of their privilege. On the other

hand, the various committees of corporations and the clubs increased their activity in preparing lists of candidates for the representation of the people, according to their own views, and in recommending them to the electors through the columns of the press and in every other way. In consequence of the ministerial order which had been issued, the official managers of private estates, and the magistrates in the parishes, were quite passive amid the democratic election intrigues which ensued, and did not dare to set up a Conservative on their own side in opposition to a Radical candidate. The owners of property and the members of the privileged provincial Estates, who a few months before were anxiously employed in defending their privileges against every real or fancied infringement on the part of the government, were now perfectly indifferent and inattentive in the exercise of their elective rights, and in the use of their moral influence over the electors. The country clergy also, for the most part, maintained a like indifference. Those members of either class who interfered actively in the election, acted not in a conservative but in a revolutionary sense. Neither did any champion stand forth from amongst the other classes of society and boldly propose, either by word or writing, the election of moderate and discreet persons. The press, free and licentious, by means of exaggerated statements, sophisms, lies, and calumnies, excited the agitators against all lawful authority, and their statements remained unopposed and uncontradicted, because there were but few friends of tranquillity who possessed the power necessary for that purpose, and such as made the attempt had not the means of commanding the attention of the people, for the daily press had ever made a point of exciting instead of tranquillizing the public mind. The destructive party could, therefore, without any opposition, employ every means to influence the

elections in their own favour, even to the employment of threats and bribery; the exertions of the opposite party were weakened, because the subordinate government officials neglected to oppose the activity of their adversaries, partly from fear of being accused of acting in opposition to the commands issued by the Minister of the Interior on June 5th, and partly because they possessed no adequate resources for that purpose. Thus, then, the elections for the Constituent Diet were left to the results of chance, or to the exertions of that party whose chief interests lay rather in the continuation than in the termination of the revolution.

12. In the time that elapsed between the preparation for the election and the opening of the Diet, controversies were continually carried on upon the question, whether the emperor should return to Vienna and personally assist at the opening, or whether he should authorize his brother (the presumptive heir to the throne), or some other of the imperial princes, to represent him. On the part of the court, its return to the capital depended on securities being given against a repetition of the events of May; whilst, on the other hand, those who held power in Vienna demanded guarantees for the people against the imputed reactionary designs of the court party. The demands of the court were founded on justice and necessity. But, instead of asking the agitators in Vienna for guarantees in general terms, the sovereign ought to have directed the use and employment of all means which his executive power could exert to render a guarantee from his subjects wholly unnecessary. But this was not done. The popular leaders, however, were able to settle their demand for guarantees, which was destitute of all pretensions to justice, in a more practical manner. They demanded cannon for the Vienna National Guard, and received from the impe-

rial arsenal six entire and complete batteries for their use, and along with them the means of enforcing whatever they might further demand.

After long discussions with the ministry, the emperor determined to send his uncle, the Archduke John, as his representative to Vienna. The Minister of Trade and Agriculture, Baron von Doblhoff, who had returned from Innsbruck, announced his arrival on June 23rd, and the commencement of the representative functions, which were undertaken by the Archduke, on the following day. An imperial proclamation from Innsbruck of June 16th, 1848, announced that the Archduke John was fully authorized, until the emperor should come to Vienna, not only to open the Diet, but also to transact all the duties of government, which required the imperial assent. (See Appendix, Sup. 5.)

The day on which these duties of representation commenced, placed the Austrian empire in a condition of which the history of kingdoms scarcely furnishes an example. For, in addition to the viceroy already appointed for Hungary and Transylvania, a second viceroy for the other parts of the monarchy, furnished with all the rights of sovereignty, now appeared upon the stage, while the sovereign himself remained in the distance, a mere spectator of the scene. It has often happened that sovereigns have allowed themselves to be temporarily represented by a person enjoying their confidence ; but that in the same state two viceroys, independent of each other, each in a different part of the empire, and in a moment of vital conflict between those two parts, should be empowered to exercise all the authority of majesty at the same time, is an event which, within our knowledge, has never yet happened in any kingdom. But that responsible ministers should make this experiment, by drawing up such a proclamation as Wessenberg

and Doblhoff prepared, instead of persuading the emperor to convoke the Diet and the Ministerial Council in the place where circumstances had compelled him to establish his residence; this must remain inexplicable, unless we are prepared to admit, that responsibility can only be imposed upon a ministry, when their actions infringe the liberties of the people, and not when they threaten to dissolve the empire. If the representatives of foreign powers were invited to follow the emperor to the seat of his court, why could not the ministers also have been summoned thither, and the Diet convoked to meet in the same place? The arrogant claim, so violently defended by the daily press of Vienna, that Vienna alone could be the seat of the central power and of the Diet, should have undergone a practical contradiction, in place of being admitted. The emperor and the court should have known this. But by once admitting the maxim of binding himself to constitutional forms, even before the formation of a constitution, and of subjecting his orders to the approval of a ministry, the emperor must have encountered difficulties in carrying out a measure of so decided a character, because his ministers, who were subject to the despotism of the Vienna clubs, would not assist in the preparation of the requisite imperial rescript, which is proved by a fact established on the authority of credible persons, namely, that the order given to the ministerial president to invite the diplomatic body to follow the court to Innsbruck, was not obeyed by that minister, and therefore the intended invitation was given by the court itself immediately to the papal nuncio, who communicated the same to the other foreign embassies. Hitherto a constitutional sovereign, in similar cases, was always provided with the means of changing his ministry. An attempt was certainly made to resort to this plan. The Governor of Galicia, Count

Francis Stadion, was summoned to Innsbruck to form a new ministry. But that highly-gifted and enterprising man, who was known to be opposed to the domineering rule of the police, as it existed previous to March, and was at the same time an energetic character, who had succeeded, after the events of March, in subduing throughout Galicia those revolutionary aspirations which, originating in Vienna, threatened suddenly to overwhelm all the other provinces, was of opinion, that the moment for his acting with effect as minister had not yet arrived, and the emperor found himself obliged to request the Baron von Pillersdorf, the provisional president of the ministry, who had acted in the interim from May 16th, when all the ministers had resigned, to continue to conduct the business of the state, and therefore to abstain from all energetic steps: this was done by means of a cabinet letter addressed to him, from Innsbruck, in gracious terms, which was afterwards published in the *Vienna Gazette*. An important question now demands our attention: whether, within the whole circuit of the Austrian monarchy, no other man could be found than Count Stadion, possessed of sufficient weight and devotion to the imperial house, and regard for the welfare of the state, to undertake the application of such energetic measures? The King of Prussia found in Count Brandenburg a man who undertook a task still more difficult and dangerous. We believe that Austria was not more destitute of noble and firm characters than any other country, and that ministers could have been found ready to apply a strong remedy, with the emperor's authority, to subdue the mob-government of the Vienna democracy. The error seems to have been, that no person could be found in the court at that critical moment to defend such steps, if they had been even proposed. The two ministers then in Innsbruck could not do so; for one of them, Baron Doblhoff, was a creature of the Vienna agitators,

and the other was an old man, who had become estranged to the monarchy and to the affairs of state. And thus it happened, that, to the injury of the honour of the throne and the welfare of the empire, the arrogant claim of Vienna, that it should continue to be the seat of authority over the other parts of the monarchy, even when it was no longer the abode of the sovereign, received a practical recognition, by the convocation of the Diet, and the mission of an imperial viceroy to Vienna.

13. The Archduke John, on June 25th, announced the commencement of his duties as viceroy by a proclamation, which, though it was not drawn up by any minister, was (doubtless) approved of by the administration. (See Appendix, Sup. 6.) If we compare this proclamation with the one in which the emperor, on May 16th, 1848, announced to the world the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, to consist of only one chamber, as well as the abolition of any property qualification for the electors by whom it was to be chosen, we shall feel astonished at the want of harmony between these two important documents, the latter of which should have been a mere extension of the former. The emperor, for instance, declared, on May 16th, that the constitution of May 25th should be previously submitted to the consideration of the Diet, and that to effect the establishment of the constitution in the most certain manner, by the Constituent Assembly, only one chamber was to be elected for the first Diet, and that accordingly there should be no property qualification for the electors. In what sense the ministry understood the above words will clearly appear from the before-mentioned letter of the Minister of the Interior to all the provincial governors, dated June 5th, 1848, on the subject of taking the votes, since the following passage occurs therein:—"The task of the Constituent Diet, immediately after its meeting, will

consist in considering the nature of a constitution to be given to the monarchy. The results of this deliberation can alone answer the question, whether this Constituent Diet is empowered in any manner, or under any modifications, to take into its consideration any further subjects of legislation, organic regulations, or important questions of administration." The imperial viceroy, who was sent to Vienna to assist at the opening of the Constituent Diet, in his proclamation of June 25th, 1848, neither mentions the revision of the constitution of April 25th, nor adverts to the task of framing a constitution immediately, to take priority over all other business, but speaks cumulatively of the necessity of constructing a new and firm foundation for important changes in every branch of legislation, and for providing new resources to satisfy the most pressing demands. Did the constitutional ministry, when in accordance with their duty they considered these expressions of the viceroy, overlook their inevitable result, namely, the promulgation of the doctrine, that the first Diet, which was to consist only of one chamber, should consider itself called upon to act also in a legislative and controlling capacity? Or was it their intention to clothe this Diet with larger powers than the emperor and his ministry had originally intended, as it had been convoked by the emperor only to consider the constitution of April 25th, and chosen in a manner which seemed well adapted for the tranquil attainment of this object? We shall be justified in adopting the latter opinion, if we read the speech with which the imperial viceroy, four weeks later, opened the Diet. Even in this address from the throne, which, after parliamentary fashion, must have been adopted in Ministerial Council, and have expressed the sentiments of the cabinet, there is nothing said of giving priority

to a revision of the constitution, but a promise is made at a future day to lay before the Diet certain plans and proposals with respect to the regulations of finance which had become necessary. (See Appendix, Sup. 7.) Whether it arose from neglect or intention that the orders of the imperial proclamation of May 16th, and the ministerial intentions published on June 5th, were departed from, the greater part of the responsibility must fall on the ministers, for the expenditure of time and money, for the hasty destruction of existing institutions without providing other and better ones in their room, for the injury done to the executive power, for the degradation of the spiritual and secular authorities, for enkindling and encouraging a civil war, and, in fine, for all the evil which the Diet, during its seven months' duration, gave birth to by its conduct in interfering with everything but the objects for which it was convoked.

14. Between the assumption of the viceroyalty by the Archduke John and the solemn opening of the Diet, on July 22nd, by him as the representative of the emperor (after seven previous preparatory sittings of the representatives of the people), a period of four weeks intervenes, which is remarkable for the two following events, one of which occurred beyond the dominions of Austria,—viz. the election of the archduke to be the Vicar of the German empire; the other happened in Vienna itself,—viz. the fall of the Pillersdorf ministry.

The first of these indicated to the Austrian monarchy the consequences which a division of the central power, had it been of longer duration, must inevitably occasion. The second might have been viewed as a blessing, had it sprung from different causes and produced different results than were actually the case. The delay of a month in opening the

Diet was partly occasioned by procrastinating the elections in Bohemia (the result of the Prague disturbances), and partly by the choice, in Frankfort, of the archduke, on June 29th, to be the irresponsible vicar of Germany. He set out on his journey to Frankfort, to undertake his new office, on July 8th, and returned on the 17th of the same month, to represent the emperor at the first solemn sitting of the Diet in Vienna.

The day of his departure was the day of the downfall of Pillersdorf's administration. The occasion of this event was afforded by the Committee of the Citizens, National Guards, and Students, who alleged that they had discovered in Baron Pillersdorf tendencies hostile to freedom, and favourable to the system that had existed before March; and that in his speech on the election of deputies for the Vienna Diet, he had declared his attachment to the old bureaucratic system. A motion was thereupon made to expel, unconditionally, all supporters of the old system, and to send deputies from the committee to the representative of the emperor, petitioning him to entrust Doblhoff with the formation of a new ministry, in which, with the exception of Wessenberg, no member of the subsisting ministry should hold a place. This proposal, which was adopted in a sitting of the committee, on July 8th, 1848, by 156 votes against 5, must have convinced Baron Pillersdorf that he had in vain, since the month of March, courted popular favour, that most fickle of all coquettes, with the most complete devotion, and with the sacrifice of his reputation as a statesman, with the abandonment of the honour and safety of the throne and the welfare of the monarchy, for he was doomed to see himself shamefully rejected, at the very moment when he thought he had reached the goal. The same party whose favour he had sought, named his ministry the Squirrel Ministry, which,

from its half-and-half character, had fallen to the ground—a rebuke which must have been the more keenly felt, as he was now, indeed, prostrate.*

Pursuant to the wish of the united committee, Doblhoff was charged with the construction of a new ministry. Immediately after the return of the archduke, the proposition of Doblhoff received his approval. Thereupon Pillersdorf, Sommaruga, and Baumgartner left the ministry; Doblhoff took charge of the portfolio of the interior; Dr. Alexander Bach, that of justice; Theodore Hornbostl, that of trade; and Ernest von Schwarzer, that of public works; the other portfolios remained in the same hands as before. The superintendence of public instruction was provisionally entrusted to the Minister of the Interior, and the Baron Dr. Feuchtersleben was made Under Secretary of State; the Finance Ministry also received an Under Secretary of State in the

* The "Historische-Politische Blätter, &c.," in the second number of the twenty-fifth volume, looks upon the steps which the Democratic Society at Vienna recommended to Archduke John to be taken against Pillersdorf, and which that society published in its journal, "The Democrat," of the 17th of July, 1848, as one of the most efficient causes in procuring the removal of that unpopular minister. That journal traces this result in the condescending manner with which the representative of the emperor, on the 8th of July, received at his residence the deputies of the said society (Deutsch, Völkl, Hank, Löbenstein, and Silberstein), on which occasion they showed to him the necessity of a change of the ministry. It further traces it in the soothing words which the archduke—according to the democrat Silberstein—is said to have exchanged with these deputies. We think it a matter of moral impossibility that an archduke of Austria should have attached any importance to the wishes of those emissaries of the Democratic Society.

If it be supposed, however, that he had really answered in so benevolent a manner as represented, we should be induced to believe that in so doing he merely imitated, in the face of those unruly demagogues, the example of Alexander of Macedonia, who, in order to tame the unmanageable Bucephalus, first pacified him by his caressing hand, and then let him feel, forcibly and ably, the reins and spurs. After the archduke's departure from Vienna, the latter task was unfortunately left to be performed by a man who was in no respect an Alexander.

person of Baron Von Stift. By this formation of the ministry, only two persons were continued in the service of the state, who had been ministers previous to March—Kraus, Minister of Finance, and Latour, of War; Wessenberg, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Ministerial Council, had lived seventeen years in retirement out of Austria, and the others had never held office. Doblhoff's previous occupations we have already explained. Bach had some reputation as a young advocate, and had displayed great zeal in preparing the events of March, but as soon as he saw the fire which he had occasioned burst forth, and all hope of extinguishing it disappear, than he is said to have been driven to a state bordering on despair. In the Political Central Committee of the National Guards before April 26th, and in the committees that were formed after that date, he laboured with boldness and discretion in the path of law and order. Hornbostl was a soap-maker, and was celebrated in the Lower Austrian Trades Union as a warm advocate of reform. Schwarzer had commenced a military career in the artillery as the son of an officer in the imperial army; but having obtained permission to undertake the instruction of an Egyptian, who was residing in Gratz, as an artilleryman, he prolonged his stay there without leave, on which account he was brought to trial, and he subsequently renounced the military service altogether. He then found employment in editing the *Trieste Lloyd's Journal;* after the events of March he undertook the continuation of the celebrated Vienna paper, which was half official, being edited by the privy councillor Pilat, and was known by the title of *Oesterreichischer Beobachtar;* but as he could not adopt Pilat's views of the government, he soon changed the above for the *Allgemeine Oesterreichische Zeitung,* so celebrated for its violent support of the opposition. The Under Secretary of State, Feuchtersleben, had been vice-director of the

medico-surgical school in the University of Vienna; the Under Secretary of State, Stift, by fortunate speculations on 'Change, at the time when his father was surgeon to the Emperor Francis and a privy councillor, had become rich, and had many years previously retired from the business of a wholesale merchant; he was well known as an active opposition member of the Lower Austrian Estates. The great majority, therefore, of the new cabinet, when it met the parliament, was not chosen from the ranks of the odious Austrian bureaucracy.* and might have escaped the imputation of entertaining any attachment to the old system, even if the hesitating course of the former administration had been followed by firmer measures. But this could not be expected from a ministry who owed their existence to the supporters of the Vienna agitation and democracy, namely, to the United Committee of the Vienna Citizens, National Guards, and the Academic Legion, established for the preservation of peace and order, and for the defence of the rights of the people. Such a ministry, forced on the representative of the emperor at the moment of the opening of the Diet

* How surprising! The very Minister of Finance, who belonged to that bureaucracy, and who, having been nominated by the Emperor Ferdinand, in March, 1848, had (until his already-appointed successor had arrived at maturity) been temporarily tolerated among the ministers of July,—that very minister was, in October, not compelled to escape by flight or concealment from the fury of the populace, like the rest of his colleagues, who had risen either from the ranks of the men of progress among the Estates, or from those of the liberal speakers in the juridico-political societies, or finally from those men of the day who had distinguished themselves by the soundness and apparent practicability of their principles. Further, in the days of October, he remained, with calmness and courageous determination, at his post, and thus, with self-denial, averted incalculable evils. Here, then, the minister, who up to this hour has been charged, without interruption, with the finances—the bureaucrat, the ancient member of the council of state, the Baron Kraus,—furnishes us with a proof that popular favour suffices not to enable a minister to act and to maintain himself, but that in this respect other qualities are able to secure success.

by the usurpers of state power, could not vindicate the authority of which the sovereign had been deprived; for in the very concession that had been made to this committee, in changing the ministry at their request and in pursuance with their wish, at the very moment when the lawful representatives of the people were assembled and at their posts, immediately upon the opening of their meeting to express their sentiments in a parliamentary manner on the subject of the Pillersdorf administration—in such a concession there was exhibited a new and a successful triumph of usurpation over legality. In fact, the third day, which followed the solemn opening of the Diet, proved that that celebrated Committee knew how to value and to take advantage of its triumph; for on July 25th that body, through its former president, the deputy Fischhoff, presented an address to the Constituent Diet, which he declared to be a programme of its future course of proceeding. In this address the committee commenced by stating, that the Diet, in place of the lawful title of Constituent Diet, should of its own accord adopt the title of Sovereign Diet, a title most offensive to imperial majesty. The committee then allude to their own formation on May 26th, and to the ministerial announcement of the following day, by which they were recognized as an independent authority, convoked for the preservation of order and the safety of the city and for the protection of the rights of the people. They then inform the assembly of the representatives of the people of Austria that they, up to that hour, are the only true popular authorities, and that they have unanimously resolved to continue as such until the Diet shall pronounce their dissolution, or until the ministry shall institute some other popular authority, or shall reorganize the present one in such a manner that the preservation of order, peace,

and safety may with confidence be entrusted to them; finally, they inform the Diet that they, as the protectors of popular rights, will still assist any individual who may be injured in his rights, with such aid as every citizen could demand from the proper authorities under the existing laws, for which purpose they would interfere by mediation, and, if necessary, with measures of force.

How determined the Committee of Safety were to carry out this plan, and how well they understood how to secure the means of doing so, may be seen in the care which they took to draw the common people into their alliance. On July 30th, with their consent (or, rather, under their arrangement), a solemn religious service was celebrated, on the Josephstadt fortifications, by the notorious priest, Professor Füster, for the benefit of the workmen employed in the public buildings, "in order to return thanks for the freedom which had been so happily obtained, and for the opening of the Diet, and to pray to God for happy results to the same." And thus, even feelings of religion were employed to secure to a revolutionary committee, which had become strong and bold by the weakness of the government, the attachment and the confidence of that class of people, so numerous and so easily led, whose strong arms might have served as pillars of support to the power of government.

The revolution in Austria (in the strict sense of the word) was not only brought to a close with the solemn opening of the Constituent Diet, but was even fully completed. It might and ought to have been brought to a close on March 15th, for by the imperial proclamation of that day, the participation of the people in the government was declared to be a state maxim. The revolutionary commotions which occurred after March can only be ascribed to those feelings of mistrust generally prevalent, and to the consequent

doubts, whether the promise of the emperor to convert the absolute monarchy into a constitutional one would be realized, doubts which, from selfish motives, were fostered and encouraged by the agitators. Such doubts ought to have vanished on July 22nd, for, upon the solemn opening of the Diet, the representation of the people, in a popular sense, had become an established fact. A further revolution could only have been possible in two cases ; if, for instance, the constitutional throne should be overturned by the people and replaced by a republic, or if the emperor should entertain a design of reverting to absolutism. Neither of these events happened. The disturbances which took place in Vienna between the opening of the Diet and its adjournment to Kremsier, were not attempts to produce a new revolution in Austria, but were insurrectionary revolts of the inhabitants of Vienna against the constitutional executive power. If indeed a few persons on those occasions had some republican tendencies in reserve, and if the Diet, moreover, overstepped its authority by considering itself to be not only a constituent but a sovereign assembly, there was no attempt made, even in the alarming and bloody days of August 23rd, September 13th, October 6th, and the following, to establish a revolution in a republican sense. The horrors and crimes of those days were, it is true, the result of popular violence let loose by the revolution and by the weakness of those who exercised the authority of government ; but they were not a continuation of the revolution in Austria. The atrocity of October 6th, in particular, could have been avoided by timely measures of prevention ; for it is a fact that, in the beginning of October, the murder of Latour was publicly spoken of, in a numerously-attended meeting of demagogues at the Odeon, as indispensable, to prevent designs of reaction falsely attributed to the court party, of which

the Minister of War even received a notification from a retired officer who was present. Even if his own courage would not permit him to adopt measures for his personal safety, the open threat of such a crime should not have been a secret to the ministry charged with providing for the public protection, and should not have been slighted. The removal of the court to Olmütz, the summoning of the ministry thither, the subjection of the capital to military authority without any discussion, and the adjournment of the parliament to Kremsier, were the first attempts to re-assert the authority of the government after the days of March, which, moreover, had the effect of subduing the popular violence. The President of the Ministry, Baron von Wessenberg, in following the emperor to Olmütz, and by countersigning, as the only minister who remained with him, the convocation of the Diet at Kremsier, imparted to that order a legal form, and by this act, previous to his leaving the ministry, nobly expiated the error of his conduct at Innsbruck, by means of which, as we have before remarked, the arrogant pretensions of the capital had been recognized.* The excesses of which the Diet was guilty, doubtless

* At pages 5 of the pamphlet, "Fragments on the part I took in the Events of the Years 1848 and 1849," written by Frederic Thiemann, deputy of the Imperial Diet, and published, a short time back, by Gottlieb Haase Sohne, at Prague, further information is given relative to the journey of Baron Wessenberg to Olmütz. The author, after having referred to his conversation, on the 8th of October, with Prince Windischgrätz, at Prague, and to his having accidentally learned the presence of Baron Wessenberg in that town, proceeds thus:—"I went to look for him, and found him in the hotel of the Black Horse, deeply moved, and still under the influence of the frightful impressions created by the terrible events at Vienna, which were very near causing the loss of his own life. On my questioning him, what he intended to do, he communicated to me his resolution to proceed to his estates in the Breisgau."

"I related to him what I had learnt about the departure of the emperor; I directed his attention to the dangerous and painful condition of the monarch, and I implored him to hasten to his side, in order, as

occasioned disorders and dangerous agitations through all portions of the state, but cannot be considered as attacks on the constitutional monarchy, and consequently not as attempts at revolution. We cannot take into consideration the conduct of individual members of the Diet. According to psychological rules, these attacks were the necessary consequence of that system which, since the month of March, had been adopted by the supporters of the government and had been attended by lamentable consequences, a system of inconsistent submission to those demands which were made upon the ministry by assemblies without any lawful authority, in the name of the Austrian people. What was more natural than that, looking at what such orators and brawlers, who usurped the title of representatives of the people, had obtained, it should be esteemed a species of honour by their lawful representatives to exercise a similar controlling influence over the executive authority? But their efforts were not directed to overturn the executive, and therefore were not revolutionary. With just as little reason can the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in March, 1849, and the proclamation of the second chartered constitution on the 4th of the same month, be considered as a revolution in an absolute sense, since these acts of sovereign authority did not contemplate depriving the people of all participation in the legislative power and of all control over the administration, but rather sought to establish it more

responsible minister, to consider and to countersign the measures necessary for the preservation of the empire and of the throne. I also represented to him that he and the minister Bach certainly ought not, under the existing circumstances, to resign, as, by so doing, the object of the rebels, as also the revolution itself, would be furthered. Baron Wessenberg felt the weight of these reasons, and merely replied that he thought it hardly possible to come to an understanding with Bach. To effect that understanding, I stated my readiness to carry a letter for Bach to Vienna. Wessenberg then gave way to my representations, and immediately resolved to confer with the commanding general."

rapidly than the Diet could have done, in the full enjoyment of all constitutional privileges, and to assert at the same time the constitutional rights of the crown.

And thus we have attained the point where the editor of the Genesis, having described the revolution in Austria in its embryo state and at the moment of its birth, and having accompanied it from its years of childhood and ignorance to the full attainment of its majority, must surrender the pen to the historian.

But in order, however, completely to finish the task of the Genesis, it seems to us necessary to subjoin a brief description of the causes which were the origin of the Magyar revolution, which has, up to the present moment (August, 1849), not been perfectly subdued.

The overthrow of the ancient constitution of the Estates of Hungary and its dependencies, which had been sworn to by the king, had been brought to a conclusion in the month of March, and it was effected, not in a revolutionary, but in a legal manner. By a series of royal resolutions, on the occasion of different representations voted by the Presburg parliament, the following decrees had been made on the subject of the constitution of the country.

"That in future the executive power shall only be exercised by the king, or, in his absence, by the palatine, as viceroy, through the instrumentality of an independent Hungarian ministry, every member of which shall transact his official business in Buda-Pesth, and shall also reside there, with the exception of one member, who shall attend the court; that the palatine, during the residence of the king beyond the limits of Hungary, shall exercise, independently of the royal consent, all the authority of the king's majesty, with the exception of appointing the chief ecclesiastical dig-

nitaries and the barons of the empire, and of performing some acts of grace, as well as with the exception of sending the army out of Hungary, and granting military commissions; that the Archduke Stephen is to be personally irresponsible; that, with the royal consent, the nomination of the Ministerial President belongs to him, and that he shall propose the other ministers, subject to the royal approbation, and that the ministers may be impeached with respect to matters of their administration by the Lower Table (House), and shall be tried before a court to be selected by the Upper Table from their own members, the trial to be conducted publicly, and to the exclusion of the king's pardon, except in cases of a general amnesty."—Art. III.

"That in future the parliament shall meet annually in Pesth, in a public session; the laws to be given for the future may be approved by the king, even in the course of the annual session; the election of representatives shall last for three years; the appointment of the president of the Table of Magnates shall belong to the king; the president of the second Table shall be elected by the Table of Magnates; the prorogation, closing, and dissolution of the Diet shall belong to the king; the last privilege shall be exercised only on condition that the meeting of a new Diet shall take place within three months after the dissolution."—Art. IV.

"The Table of Deputies to consist of 377 members, to be chosen by direct election from all parts of Hungary and its dependencies, inclusive of the military boundaries; the active right of election to belong to all native-born subjects, independent, and twenty years old, who are not undergoing punishment (for certain crimes specified), who shall possess in the royal towns, or in the districts provided with regular magistrates, a house or land of the value of 100 guldens, or shall

possess a quarter of a session* in any other district, or who are domiciliated tradesmen, having continuous employment for one assistant, or are shopkeepers, or manufacturers, or who can prove the possession of a certain annual income of 100 guldens (convention money) arising from land or capital: the passive right of election to belong to all the above-mentioned persons, after their twenty-fourth year, when they can comply with the rule of law which declares the Hungarian to be exclusively the language of legislation." —Art. V.

"That all inhabitants shall be equally taxed."—Art. VIII.

"That the burdening of the land with the robot, tenths, and pecuniary payments, as also all landlords' manorial courts, shall be abolished."—Art. IX.

"That the 'aviticität' (viz., the privilege, according to which the descendants of those to whom originally a freehold property was granted by the crown, can ever afterwards lay claim to that property, even when it may have passed into other families) be on principle abolished."—Art. XV.

"That the county-congregations be changed into permanent committees until the re-organization of the counties." —Art. XVI.

"That the county-restorations (periodical elections of the county magistracy) be suspended until the directions of the next parliament."—Art. XVII.

"That all received religions, to which also shall belong the United and not-United Greek religions, shall be equally tolerated."—Art. XX.

"That all preventive censorship shall cease."—Art. XVIII.

"That a National Guard be established, to superintend

* The session was an entire peasant's fief, varying in extent according to the qualities of the soil. It comprised from sixteen to forty acres of arable, and from about six to twelve acres of meadow land.—ED.

the security of person and property, as well as of public tranquillity and of internal peace."—Art. XXII.

"That the national colours and the national arms be once more established in all their ancient legality."—Art. XXI.

"That in case the Diet, to be shortly held in Transylvania, shall resolve upon the union of that country with Hungary, then that in the first Hungarian Diet which shall be held in Pesth, seats and a right of voting in the Table of Magnates shall be conceded to the Transylvanian regalists, and that 69 representatives, to be elected in Transylvania, shall be added to the Table of Deputies."—Art. VII.

These resolutions contained everything that was necessary to convert the Hungarian constitution, and also the ancient aristocratic constitution of the Estates of Transylvania (in case it should be united with Hungary), into a representative system, by introducing into it the democratic element, and to dissolve the band between the other portions of the empire and the newly constituted countries. According to the hitherto existing custom, and pursuant to the royal decree of April 11th, 1848, they commenced their operation in the manner expressed in the articles of law of the Hungarian parliament of the year 1847-48. A review of the expressions in the royal resolutions with which they were legally approved during the sitting of the Diet, even if they should differ from the expressions in the articles of law, is not allowable, because the so-styled "most humble representations" of the Diet, and their consideration by the king, only deserve the name of proposals, to which two referees had agreed, but which were subsequently to be drawn up in a valid form by agents on both sides. Commissioners appointed expressly for that purpose acted as such agents, at the close of each Hungarian Diet, being fully autho-

rized by the king and by the Estates. They formed the mixed commission of agreement, whose duty it was to frame the resolutions, which had been approved by the king, into articles of law, which both parties afterwards adopted and recognized as binding. We allude especially to this transaction, because, in considering the most important of all the thirty-one articles of law of the last Presburg Diet, namely, the third, which has reference to the formation of an independent Hungarian responsible ministry, it is not without great weight, as our readers will shortly observe.

The 11th of April, 1848, was therefore the last day of the existence of the ancient Hungarian constitution. A new form of government was established in its place, without any revolution, but founded on totally different maxims, which, inasmuch as it had in view exclusively the interests of the Magyars, and not their relations to the adjoining territories (Croatia, Slavonia, and the sea district), and their union with the other parts of the empire, would have accorded with the demands of the age and might have taken root, inasmuch as it did not set out by overturning all subsisting institutions, but, like a graft which is inserted upon an old tree, was intended to infuse new spirit into the ancient system, that had become dear to the Magyar people. But the other races who were to be affected by these proposed changes, particularly the Slavonians, saw that it was the object of the Magyars to unite all the other nationalities with their own, and gradually to extinguish them, to which end the separation of the Hungarian government from the central administration was to serve as a means. This conviction, supported by previous experience, soon called forth the most determined opposition into action.

The Croatian and Slavonian members of the Diet, at the discussions which took place before both Tables, did not

raise their voices against these innovations, because the terrorism exercised by the Magyar party had destroyed their freedom of voting, and because they hoped that the Crown, moreover, would reject the propositions of the Diet, which could not have any other effect than to divide the empire into two hostile camps. But they never ceased to describe, in the most lively colours, both in their own Slavonian country and in Vienna, the evils which they apprehended, and which were inseparable from the proposed alteration of the government in Hungary. Their warnings were listened to by their own nation; for a provisional National Committee immediately assembled in Agram, which called together the National Assembly on March 25th, whose demands were carried to the foot of the throne by a numerous deputation, as we have already mentioned in our account of the events that happened during the latter half of the month of March. The imperial cabinet was also well aware of the danger that threatened the united monarchy, but they only issued the admonition of the apostolic king, which is also known to our readers, that the change of the government in Hungary was not in any manner to injure the unity and integrity of the monarchy, and then filled up the office of Ban, which, since the termination of the Diet of 1833-34, had remained vacant, by the appointment of Baron Jelacic.

By the experience of many years, the Croatians and Slavonians had become too well acquainted with the objects of the Magyars, to expect any effect from the royal admonition, unless it were supported by effective measures. They strove, therefore, with indefatigable zeal, to prepare their measures, under the guidance of their Ban, in order that they should not be taken by surprise, if, in consequence of the clear intentions of the Hungarian ministerial president,

Count Louis Batthyany, who was for many years leader of the Magyar opposition party among the Magnates, and of his influential colleague, Kossuth, the most celebrated of the Magyar agitators, the conditions appointed by the king and adopted by the Diet, or the enactments of the Article of Law III. sec. 26 (according to which all the jurisdictions of the country and of their adjoining provinces were to be maintained unimpaired in their previous legal efficiency), were to be abrogated by the ministry at Pesth. In either of these cases they were determined to repel the injustice with force, without desiring the Crown to take an active part in the cause; but with the expectation that this conduct on their part would not be considered as a rebellion against the king, whose loyal subjects they were determined to remain, dependent on the central administration, and without destroying that connection with Hungary which had lasted for centuries, and without suffering the country to become subject to Magyar domination. These loyal sentiments, which were shared by the Hungarian dependencies, that had been placed under the influence of the Ban, could not be well received by the Hungarian ministry, bent as it was on separation. Disputes soon arose between them, because the Ban disapproved of several of the measures of the Hungarian ministry, which infringed on the rights of his nation. The ministry accordingly directed an imperial cabinet order to the Ban (which was published in the *Pesth Gazette* of May 10th, 1848), whereby he was admonished to obey the orders that should reach him from the ministry and the viceroy, within the sphere of his official duty. It was also at the same time notified to the military commander in the kingdom of Hungary, that for the future, the Hungarian army should receive all commands and orders through the Hungarian ministry, and should direct its com-

munications to the same ministry, which orders were especially extended to the military frontier.

The object of these orders, particularly of the latter, could not escape the attention of the Croatians, who entertained a justifiable mistrust of the authorities at Pesth. They could only find hope in their own efforts ; and accordingly, in the latter half of the month of May, they commenced their preparations to obey the commands of the Ban, in case he should call upon them to protect their privileges and their liberty against the attacks of the Magyars, if necessary, by force of arms.

On the other hand, the Hungarians thought they could observe, in the position which the Croatians began to assume, symptoms of an agreement with the court of Vienna ; although they might have concluded, from their own fanatical zeal for their own language and nationality, that another nation, quite as determined and patriotic as themselves, would not remain idle, if attempts were made by any neighbouring people to suppress their liberty and their national language.

Buda-Pesth, the rival of Vienna in acquiring supreme dominion, was not willing to remain behind the latter in making demonstrations against the imperial government. With this object it was intended to display the hostile sentiments of the people, by announcing an entertainment of cats'-music to be given to the commander of the forces, a high and influential man, and the only person in Hungary who was still directly dependent upon a Vienna ministry. But the intention was defeated, not without bloodshed, by the interference of the military, who were justly infuriated thereat. The withdrawal of the commander from Hungary was the consequence of that well-merited repulse ; a step the more to be deplored, as the anger of the Magyars on the

one side, and the opposition of the Croatians on the other, were only the more aroused.

But the individuals who exercised the royal authority in Buda-Pesth, were soon afterwards successful in raising a storm of royal anger against the Ban, who was an object of their suspicions and hatred. They had previously failed in an attempt to force him from the scene of his official efficiency, and to call him to the Magyar metropolis, and also to paralyze his authority by despatching to him the F. M. L. Baron Hrabowski, who was the general commanding in Slavonia. Jelacic was called to account in a very serious and even rigorous manner by the king, with respect to his conduct as Ban, and ordered for this purpose to appear without delay at the foot of the throne.* About the middle of June, attended by a numerous deputation, he left Agram, and proceeded to the seat of the court at Innsbruck, whither, also, on the 2nd of June, the Hungarian Ministerial President, Count L. Batthyany, hastened, and on the 19th of the same month the palatine and imperial viceroy, the Archduke Stephen, proceeded thither, accompanied by the minister Count Szecheny from Buda-Pesth, the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Prince Esterhazy, having been previously sent to attend upon the court there. The charges against the Ban were supported by facts, which might, it is true, not have been strictly in accordance with the letter of the 3rd Article of Law of the year 1847-48; but the accused proved that they were fully in accordance with the spirit of

* In the review of the "Genesis," published in the "Historische-Politische Blätter, &c.," we are denounced as being too brief in the description of this episode. We acknowledge it, and add in No. XV. of the Appendix the imperial decree from Innsbruck of the 29th of May, 1848, which summons the Ban to the foot of the throne, as also the two manifestoes, which, as he, on the 10th of June, had not yet appeared at Innsbruck, were on that day issued against him, and on the 19th of the same month published in the official part of the *Viennese Gazette*.

the second section of that law, which section points out the condition under which it might be dispensed with, and upon the fulfilment of which its validity depends; that the point, therefore, in view, was to understand mutually how the fulfilment of that condition could be established, and to inquire what protection should be extended to the Slavonian lands which were united with the crown of Hungary, to defend them against the destruction of their nationality by the Magyars. And so the threatening storm passed happily over him, and he indulged the hope that a kindly healing of the differences between Hungary and her neighbouring territories would be effected by the Archduke John, who, at his own request, was authorized by the emperor king to take measures for that purpose. Upon his return to Agram on June 28th, 1848, amid the greatest display of joy, he circulated through all quarters of the country the news of these gratifying prospects.*

* We must here relate a fact, confirmed by trustworthy authority, which shows the character of the hero whose name is now universally famous. The publication of the two manifestoes of the 10th of June happened at a time when Jelacic was travelling. The reception he met with at the residence of the court, which was by no means unfavourable, and the orders which he there received, to arrange, with the assistance of the Archduke John, in an amicable manner, the dispute with the Hungarian ministry, had virtually counteracted the effect of those two manifestoes. One would suppose that the ministers at Innsbruck would have consequently adopted the natural course of giving to the Ban an explanation of the affair, and also of informing the public. However, this was not done. Jelacic did not know anything of those two manifestoes before his return home, when in Lienz, a small town in the Tyrol, he found them in the *Viennese Gazette* of the 19th of June, which had accidentally fallen into his hand. His countrymen, who during his absence had learnt the existence of the manifestoes without having equally been informed of their having since become virtually void, suspected that some violence might have been done to his person, and were prepared to set everything at stake in his defence. He just then re-appeared in Agram, and, without seeming sensible of the unpleasant occurrence, he immediately employed the whole of his influence to change their anger into enthusiasm for their king and the royal house.

If the sincere wish of the court to preserve internal harmony and the connection of all parts of the monarchy unimpaired had been supported by the Hungarian authorities, as willingly as by the Ban, the soil of Hungary, which was so blessed by the hand of Nature, would not have had to lament being made the theatre of the heart-breaking spectacle of a struggle between European democracy and anarchy on the one side, and the dominion of law, right, and social order on the other. The upright disposition of the sovereign could not employ the remedy which was required, namely, that of giving authority, by an exercise of resolute determination, to the spirit of the laws, above the mere letter of the same. By the letters-patent issued in Presburg on April 11th, every act of the apostolic king required the co-operation of a responsible Hungarian minister. As that ministry, however, was not appointed by the free choice of the sovereign, like the Viennese ministry, but by the will of the people, expressed by the Diet, the co-operation of any of its members could not be expected in a royal act, which they could foresee would be hostile to the national feelings, particularly as their responsibility was no fiction, as in the case of the Viennese, for in a short time they had to appear before the Diet, which was already summoned to meet in Pesth on July 2nd, and the law, according to which they might be impeached and tried by the national representatives, had been approved by the king on April 11th. Under existing circumstances it was impossible to think of dismissing the Hungarian ministry and forming a new one in the interest of the united monarchy. There was, therefore, no other way left to subdue the Hungarian agitators than an attempt at pacification, by employing a plenipotentiary, a plan which had been tried without success in the case of Austrian Italy. The appointment of the Archduke

John to undertake the task was the most proper that could be made. His call to Frankfort, as German vicar of the realm, interfered, and left the question undecided, whether the Hungarian-Croatian pacificator would have been more successful in his undertaking than the Italian one had been.*

The unsuccessful attempt to destroy the power of the Ban, and the continuation on the part of the Croatians and Slavonians of their preparations for defence, in which they were joined by the Servians, notwithstanding the threat of F. M. L. Hrabowski, at Karlowitz, to employ force against them, on account of the Servian National Congress having proceeded to the election of a Patriarch and Woywode, served to increase the fury and distrust of the Magyars against all who did not submit and do homage to their nation, but more especially against the court, which they accused of faithlessness, for refusing to give free scope to their desire to exercise full sway and uncontrolled dominion over all the nations belonging to the kingdom of Hungary.

With such dispositions as these, the magnates and the representatives of the people, who had been elected by the the new law, in pursuance of a writ issued by the palatine on May 20th, in the name of the king, met together for the first time in Pesth, on July 2nd, 1848. The adjacent

* It is said that the archduke, before his departure from Vienna, had, at his residence, a personal interview with Count Louis Batthyany, the president of the Hungarian ministry, and the Ban Baron Jelacic, and stated to each the assurance of his belief in their loyalty, their attachment to the imperial house, and their patriotism, and, finally, expressed the hope that honourable men, as they were, would doubtless come to an agreement with regard to the means for the termination of so dangerous a conflict. Thus began and ended the attempt at mediation, for, with the president of the Magyar ministry, the word "agreement" was synonymous with the unconditional subjection of Croatia, Slavonia, and the so-called military frontier, under the palatine and governor, Archduke Stephen, and the Magyar ministry.

countries* sent no members to this Diet. Only a few magnates known to be partizans of the Magyars attended. The absence of the Croatians and Slavonians was the most prudent step which they could take under the circumstances, for, with a recollection of what had taken place shortly before,—viz. on May 30th,—at the Diet of Klausenburg, which was to have been the last for the Grand Duchy of Transylvania, they might have foreseen the utter impossibility of making their voices audible, not to say their votes effectual, in that assembly, if they should attempt to raise them against the pretensions of the Magyars.

Transylvania, by entering into the union with Hungary in the Diet, which had been summoned by the Crown to meet at Klausenburg on May 29th, had been guilty of political suicide.

Since the apostolic king had, by the decree of April 11th, sanctioned the seventh article of law of the Presburg Diet of 1847-48, the convocation of the Transylvanian Estates, and the adoption of the Magyar project to unite Transylvania with Hungary, had become an indispensable necessity in the catalogue of government parliamentary propositions. But the Transylvanians were by no means bound to accept this proposition. Indeed, immediately upon the publication of the propositions of the Diet, the majority of the Transylvanian population, including the Saxons and the Wallachians, had entered the lists to oppose them. The former of these, as one of the three nations of the Grand Duchy, possessing an equality of privileges, could offer weighty objections. The latter, although in number they exceeded three-fourths of the population, were not represented as a nation in the Estates, and were therefore only

* "Partes annexæ regno Hungariæ," was the legal description of Croatia and Slavonia, under the ancient Constitution of the Estates.—Ed.

entitled to announce their just wishes against the projects of the Magyars, by means of petitions and representations. But even before the opening of the Diet, the Magyar party made every exertion, with the governor, Count Teleky, at their head, to prevent or to weaken the opposition against an incorporation with Hungary. The plans employed for this purpose were by no means consistent with the claims of true freedom, or of equal justice. On May 2nd, the governor had proceeded to Hermannstadt, in order to restrain the Saxons from offering any opposition, first, by trying the arts of persuasion, and then by inspiring terror. He used his exertions to throw obstacles in the way of sending a deputation of Wallachians to the sovereign, to implore the throne to protect their nationality, by refusing permission to the Wallachian Bishop Schagura to set out on such a journey. The latter, in pursuance of a resolution adopted at a congress of the Wallachian nation, at Blasendorf, on May 15th, should have headed a deputation which was to proceed to the foot of the throne, and had regularly applied for leave for that purpose, which was refused, and he was not even allowed to go to Hermannstadt, the seat of his bishoprick. Public demonstrations of all kinds prove that the Saxons and Wallachians, as well as the Croatians and Slavonians, had penetrated the real intention of the Presburg Diet to accomplish the subjection of all the races that were not of Magyar origin, and to destroy the unity of the crown and the links of the monarchy; and they were determined to offer every resistance to such projects. How excessively the Hungarian ministry feared such opposition, may be proved by the measures which they adopted to counteract it. For this purpose, the ministry did not consider it sufficient to rely merely upon the military forces of Hungary, but they succeeded in obtaining an imperial order, by virtue of

which, even all the troops in Transylvania were subjected to the Hungarian palatine, and this was done even before the decree for carrying the union of the nations into effect. The cabinet letter containing the order was issued from Innsbruck on May 29th.

Under these strong feelings of aversion which were entertained by the great majority of the inhabitants of Transylvania towards the union with Hungary, it must appear surprising that, immediately after the opening of the Diet, the decree for effecting this important and eventful measure should have passed without decided opposition, if we were not aware that every possible precaution had been previously taken to prevent all opposition in the Diet. It was therefore announced by the governor, during his stay in Hermannstadt, to the Saxon university and to the authorities on May 3rd, that the question of the union of Hungary and Transylvania might be regarded as settled before-hand, since it would be proclaimed at once by the Diet, through the galleries and amongst the people, and immediately afterwards the Transylvanian Government would dissolve and become practically subject to the Hungarian ministry; and should the Saxons wish to annex any conditions to the union, he declared that, as governor, he could not be responsible for the safety of the Saxon representatives beyond the walls of the Diet. Under such circumstances, the same farce of a Dietal discussion was repeated at Klausenburg, on the subject of destroying the independent constitution of Transylvania, as the Presburg Diet had enacted at the negotiations for the destruction of the constitution of the Estates in Hungary. In neither of these assemblies could a member act upon his own sentiments, but only as he was allowed by the wires that were pulled from the outside.

The Decree of Union, which had been passed at Klau-

senburg on May 30th, was forwarded with such despatch to Innsbruck, for the sovereign's assent, that the governor was able to announce the same to the Estates on June 19th. Previously to this (on June 14th), the Hungarian ministry had given an answer to the Estates of Transylvania on being informed of the Decree of Union, which was of such nature as clearly to testify the sentiments and opinions of that ministry. To the expression of joy at this union was subjoined a declaration, "that they were astonished at the greatness of the proud conviction which they entertained, that being from henceforth united, their common country would no longer be subject either to a cabal, or to a violent blow; that on the day when these two countries, which for three hundred years had been united, became divided, their weakness and humiliation had commenced; that they had each become slaves, and had disappeared from the catalogue of independent nations; that through their union, their national reconciliation would be published in the sight of Europe, which the ministry might publicly declare would subsist for ever." Their animosity towards Austrian supremacy, and their anxiety to shake it off, could not possibly be announced to the world in plainer language, without proclaiming open rebellion, than was declared by this address of the Hungarian ministry to the Diet of Transylvania. (See Appendix, Sup. 9).

What opinion the Hungarian ministry itself entertained respecting the sympathy of the greater part of the Transylvanian people for Hungary may be read in the nature of the instructions with which the above answer was accompanied. They commenced the exercise of their power over the Grand Duchy by omitting to style it by its historical and real name, and by expressing the necessity of subjecting the territories which had been originally included under the title

of Transylvania, on account of their great distance from the centre of the country, Buda-Pesth, to a royal commissioner, in the person of the Hungarian keeper of the crown, Baron Nicholas Vay, for the purpose of establishing an exceptional government-authority, which should be strong enough to oppose the agitations and insidious animosities that were everywhere displayed. The government of Transylvania was confided to this commissary, and the power of establishing martial law was entrusted to him.

And in this manner the abolition of the name of Transylvania from the list of European countries, the appointment of an exceptional government-authority, and the hand of the executioner, were necessary, after a separation of three centuries, to keep these fraternal people once more happily united.

The Hungarian Diet, which was opened by the palatine on July 2nd, 1848, was summoned to consider the pressing measures which were necessary to be adopted, in consequence of the extraordinary state of the country, pursuant to the Article of Law passed by the Presburg Diet, which had been dissolved by the king on April 11th of the above year. The palatine announced, in his speech from the throne, that such was the nature of his task. When we consider what was stated in that speech, and what was omitted therefrom (see Appendix, Sup. 10), we can once more plainly observe the true designs of the Hungarian ministry, by whom that speech from the throne was of course prepared. It spoke of the preservation of the integrity of the Hungarian crown ; of maintaining the inviolable sanctity of the laws ; of the security and welfare of the country ; of the unity and inviolability of the regal crown of Hungary ; of regulating, through the Hungarian Diet whatever the unimpaired united interest of the regal throne

and constitutional freedom and the welfare of the country demanded: it declared that the adoption of the laws promulgated by the last Presburg Diet was the free expression of the royal will, and that the king was determined always to preserve in their integrity, and unimpaired, those laws which he had approved. But, on the other hand, it did not utter one word about the imperial throne, and the relations of Hungary to the countries united with her by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction; not one word about the regulations of the 3rd Article of Law, sec. 2, according to which, the inviolable maintenance of the unity of the crown and the monarchical bond was also asserted by laws, which were always to be preserved unimpaired; and, further, not one word upon this point,—that the royal consent was obtained for sanctioning the resolutions of the Presburg Diet only because the Hungarian Estates had pronounced the points of that paragraph to be a *conditio sine quâ non*. By the silence preserved on the above points, the object of the Magyar rulers, to whom the possession of both talent and power must be conceded, was craftily and safely expressed, to the attainment of which object all the exertions of the pure Magyars were alone directed.

Thus, in the month of July, 1848, two assemblies of popular representatives held their meetings in the same state, one in Pesth, the other in Vienna, each of which ardently pursued their separate designs, and the majority of whom sympathized in one point alone, viz. in a feeling of mistrust towards the throne; and only aided each other in the attainment of one object, viz. the subjection of all government to their own will.

The Hungarian Diet afforded the ministry, which was responsible to them, and which entertained similar views

with themselves, a strong support against the apostolic king, in all measures the object of which was to explain, in one sense, and give validity to, the 3rd Article of Law of the last Presburg Diet, in order that the complete separation of Hungary and of the incorporated territory of Transylvania from Austria might ensue; those countries being intended at first to continue under the nominal dominion of the same sovereign, but which union was only to be preserved until an opportunity offered for effecting a separation. The Austrian Diet, which ought to have been summoned to afford a powerful support from the resources of the Austrian empire to the apostolic king, for the sake of resisting such efforts at separation as were made by the ministry and the Diet in Hungary, completely misunderstood this high duty which was imposed upon them by the interests of the countries which they represented, and, on the contrary, directed all their exertions to weaken the power of the emperor.

The emperor was thus prevented from adopting the only measures left for successfully preserving the monarchy from being broken up, to which measures, on that unlucky day when the concession of a separate, independent, and responsible ministry was made to Hungary, the hopes of all persons were directed, who wished to preserve unimpaired the unity of the Austrian empire, namely, the firm assertion of the condition on which the acknowledgment of a new form of Hungarian government depended. The Diet of Pesth, aided by the ministry there, used every exertion to strengthen and increase the means which had been prepared by the latter to get rid of that condition. The command of all the Hungarian and Transylvanian troops in the country, a claim which had formerly been asserted successfully for the palatine, was extended to the command of the for-

tified places and the providing munitions of war, the regiments were established on a war footing, the raising of new Honved battalions was vigorously pursued, and the soldiers were sworn to the constitution. The Hungarian Minister of Finance, who had the control of the whole income of the country, by an artful plan employed the credit of the state for his own interests, which were hostile to the views of the monarchy, inasmuch as, with the consent of the palatine, he created a Hungarian paper currency of five and ten gulden notes, the amount of which, it is true, was at first limited, but which, for want of sufficient control, was afterwards increased as occasion required.

The Magyar leaders, once in possession of the means necessary to carry on war, made no secret of their intention to compel the adjoining Slavonian countries, by force of arms, to take part in their plans to promote separation and to further the Magyar influence. Convinced of the determined opposition they would meet in those quarters, and uncertain of victory, since the full power of the Austrian emperor might be opposed to them, they used all the arts of seduction to win over the German population of Austria to their cause. They represented that the intentions of the Ban of Croatia were bent not so much on preserving the unity of the empire and the Slavonian nationality as upon restoring despotism and the subjection of other nations. Aware of the influence which the German parliament in Frankfort then exercised over the Germans in Austria, and particularly over those men by whose hands the power of government in Vienna was practically wielded, they held secret negotiations with this parliament. They thus succeeded in making spies and partisans of the Vienna reformers and German unionists both within and without the Diet, whom they amply provided with money to influence the populace to activity,

whereof the 6th of October affords testimony, on which day the insurrection in Vienna broke out, occasioned by the imperial troops being despatched to Hungary.

The emperor and king, under such circumstances, could have recourse to no other measures than those of coercion. He and his brother, to whom, as the *Agram Gazette* had already announced, the Ban was directed immediately to apply in doubtful cases, directed their attention beyond all things to prevent a bloody conflict between the Hungarian troops and those of the Ban. The Ban honourably used his influence with his people to restrain their martial ardour from hasty deeds of violence; but with respect to the military levies in the country of the Magyars, the Austrian Minister of War was the only man who could co-operate for the attainment of this humane purpose; for, since the unity of the army was still maintained in accordance with the 8th section of the 3rd Article of Law, passed by the Diet of 1847-48, a direct influence over the troops in Hungary and Transylvania was reserved to him in some degree, although, next to him, they were obliged to obey the commands of the palatine. That his exertions were often not in unison with those of the Magyar War Minister and Commander in Chief may be explained by the opposite views which they followed, without our attributing, from such contradictions, the suspicion of treason to the Hungarian nation. But the passions of the Hungarians and their Vienna supporters were incapable of taking these calm views. On this account the Minister of War, Count Latour, was slandered, hated, and devoted to death. He himself was aware of this, as is shown by the letter which he wrote to his son a few days before his murder, and which was subsequently published in the newspapers.

The memorial presented by the Austrian ministry to the

Diet of Pesth, published in the Acts of the Diet, No. 66, on the subject of the union subsisting between Hungary and the other countries of Austria, the imperial manifestoes of September 22nd and 25th, in consequence of which latter the command of all the troops and armed bodies in Hungary (it does not appear by whose nomination) was undertaken by the Field-marshal Lieutenant Count Francis Lamberg, and the appearance of this commander in the character of an extraordinary commissioner to restore peace, three days after his appointment to a seat in the Diet of Pesth; these circumstances offer the most eloquent proof of the sincere exertions of the emperor-king once more to introduce peace into the country in a legal way by an agreement with the popular representatives without bloodshed. With the cruel murder of the imperial and royal messenger of peace, the gauntlet was thrown down by the Magyars to their king and to the Emperor of Austria at the same moment; and both duty and honour required that it should be taken up.

This hasty sketch of the events in Hungary and the countries appertaining to it will serve to explain the origin of the Hungarian revolutionary war.

When we consider the progress of events in Hungary from their first commencement, there can be no doubt that the concession of an independent Hungarian responsible ministry, which was made to the Diet of Presburg in the latter half of the month of March, and the exercise of executive authority by the Palatine, whenever the king should be absent, through the whole extent of the country, combined with the personal irresponsibility of the Archduke Stephen, as Palatine, were the sources of all the evil.

If the question be asked, whether the sovereign, who, in order to save the land from a fearful conflagration, suffered

himself, from the goodness of his heart, to be prevailed upon to make such concessions, possessed the right afterwards to withdraw them, we must declare that he unquestionably possessed this right. The change in the old Hungarian constitution was effected at Presburg, on April 11th, 1848, by means of a compact between the Hungarian king and the nation, represented by the Diet. By virtue of this compact, the nation was bound to the condition clearly set forth in the 3rd Article of Law, sect. 2 ; viz. that the unity of the crown and the connecting links of the monarchy should be maintained unimpaired. But in the practical application of such a concession, the performance of this condition was evidently impossible. A compact depending upon a condition which is recognised to be incapable of fulfilment, must, in accordance with legal principles, be considered as not binding. The compact which was made on April 11th, 1848, between the Estates of Hungary and their king, on the formation of an independent Hungarian responsible ministry, is, therefore, null and void. The Magyar writers wished to consider and to introduce into this question the Pragmatic Sanction, as a decisive authority that, in that charter, the union between Hungary and the other parts of the monarchy was alluded to only in the nature of a mere personal union, satisfied by the identity of the individual as sovereign (as the union between Sweden and Norway has been effected in later times). Without entangling ourselves in a controversy about the meaning of the Pragmatic Sanction, and the construction of the words therein used, "*indivisibiliter et inseparabiliter*," we may venture to assert that the solution of this question of law does not at all depend on the words of the Pragmatic Sanction, because a question which is founded on the basis of a new contract must be decided according to the words of the new contract alone, and not according to the expressions of a former one.

But in the second section of the 3rd Article of Law, the Pragmatic Sanction is not even mentioned. If it was alluded to in the representations addressed by the Diet to the king, and in the transactions between him and the Hungarian Diet, and also in the royal resolutions which appeared in the course of the Diet, these circumstances can have no influence in the solution of the question of law before us; because, as appears from what we have before mentioned, such propositions are only entitled to the value of preliminary observations, which require to be reduced to a legal form by a commission selected for the purpose, before they can acquire the title and force of a convention between the Crown and the Estates. But in the Article of Law drawn up by the select commission, submitted to the king by the Presburg Diet, and approved by the former, no document of any kind is referred to (and this omission is clearly not without design), but on the contrary, for the sake of greater certainty, a form of expression is introduced, in intelligible words, which admit of no doubt, which the negotiating parties during the discussion, by an appeal to the Pragmatic Sanction (and which the Estates, in the introduction to the collection of the thirty-one Articles of Law of the Diet of 1847-48, again repeated), sought to establish as a *conditio sine quâ non*—that is, "the unimpaired maintenance of the unity of the throne and the connecting links of the monarchy." Whoever, in this quotation of the paragraph so often alluded to, can only recognise the meaning of a personal union, through the medium of one and the same bearer of both crowns, must either maintain, in the teeth of every principle of justice, that in a contract between two persons, it is lawful for one party, at his pleasure, to consider the words that impose an obligation upon him as not binding (in this case, for example, the words, "and the connect-

ing links of the monarchy"), or he must concede to the Apostolic King and the Emperor of Austria the right to utter the maxim of Louis XIV.—"*L'état, c'est moi.*" Neither of these alternatives will be admitted at the bar of reason and justice.

In expressing our opinion that the 3rd Article of Law, for the maintenance of which the war was commenced in Hungary, depended on an impracticable condition, and therefore could not justly be enforced, we must at the same time acknowledge that both the contracting parties were subject to the charge of having endangered the welfare of the country by entering into an agreement which contained in itself a palpable contradiction, that could be perceived beforehand. The explanation of the manner in which the kindness of the sovereign was constrained to such a course will be partly found in the description already given of the events that occurred in the latter half of the month of March. We may add, further, that in the extremely difficult situation in which the king at that time found himself, he was anxious, at any price, to avoid the approaching danger of a rupture with the Presburg Diet, and therefore no attention was paid to that voice in the cabinet, which even then would have preferred such a rupture to the concession of the demands of the Magyars. The humanity of the emperor could not imagine the possibility of being reduced to the extremity of being compelled to resort to arms against the Hungarian people, who up to that time had been loyally devoted to him; he rather placed his full confidence in the sense of justice, the magnanimity, and the attachment of that people, and cherished the hope, that the Hungarians themselves, so soon as the impracticability of the stipulated condition had been explained to them, would assist in modifying the concession which had been made to them under

the pressure of necessity, a concession that tended to destroy the unity of the empire and their own welfare together. The Archduke John, in the capacity of imperial representative, had already expressed such a hope in his speech on the opening of the Austrian Diet with the following words:—"In relation to Hungary and its neighbour-lands, a knowledge of the upright sentiments which actuate its people induces me to expect a satisfactory settlement of the questions which are still in agitation." And this would doubtless have occurred, if it had not been the object of the seducers of the Hungarian people to accomplish those very ends which the Estates had promised to avoid. But that the confidence of a noble-minded prince should be deceived in such a manner; that Ferdinand the Good should experience from the Hungarians nought but hostile suspicion in return for his confidence, hatred for his kindness, and ingratitude for his goodness, and should find himself, for these reasons, compelled to abdicate the crown, and that his brother and presumptive heir to the throne should suffer the same fate, because he had taken part in the resolutions of the sovereign,—all this will fill a disgraceful leaf in the history of Hungary, for which the Magyars, that once noble and high-spirited people, will, on a calm retrospect of the past, curse those seducers, who succeeded in exciting their warm imaginations, their fiery blood, and their daring courage, to aid in accomplishing their own interested objects and establishing their worthless theories; who employed their unflinching bravery in waging a wicked war against their king and fellow-citizens, and converted the soil of their inestimably dear country into the theatre of a bloody war, —a war waged not for the Hungarian people, but only through their instrumentality, to accomplish by fire and sword the destruction of states, and those social institutions in

Europe of which they are the supports. Whoever doubts the truth of this assertion may receive its confirmation in that Manifesto, which the Hungarian government addressed to the civilized nations of Europe through their representative in the French Republic, Count Ladislaus Teleki, to which we have already alluded. This Manifesto sets out with declaring "that the war between Austria and Hungary was not a contest relating to mere local interests, but was an European affair; that it was not merely a hostile struggle between two governments, but that the most sacred interests were engaged in a conflict against treason, freedom against despotism, and order and civilization against anarchy and barbarism; and finally, that society was to be seen defending itself against everything that threatened its destruction." The object of the Magyar war, which was not merely of a national, but of an European character, could not have been described more justly or more correctly than in the words of the above Manifesto. We concur in it entirely, but must remark, that in taking a survey of the scene of war, our vision beholds the champions arrayed in different colours from those in which they appear to the author of the Manifesto, and portrays the combatants for destruction in the hues of the three-coloured rose, distinguishing the defenders of social interests by the insignia of the two-coloured rose. In what light our readers may view these colours must depend altogether on the peculiar character of their own vision.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION.

WHAT the meaning is, in brief, of this long treatise, is a question which the reader of the Genesis will ask himself, provided his patience has enabled him to overcome the dryness of many of the events which have been therein detailed, as well as the length at which they have been described, and to reach the conclusion.

A reply to the question will be found in the following observations :—

The revolution in Austria broke out on March 13th, 1848, in spite of, and not, as many persons assert, by reason of, the perseverance of the government in adhering to its system.*

* This sentence has met with the most violent attacks. We foresaw it. If an elderly lady, who for a long number of years strictly followed the rules to procure a long life, based on the principles of Hippocrates, were suddenly to sink into a state of lethargy, the disciples of old Hippocrates would wonder how this disaster could happen *in spite of* the observance of their master's rules. The disciples of the modern schools, of a Brown, of a Hahnemann, &c., would, on the contrary, pretend that it happened by reason of a strict adherence to that antiquated system. The first believe that strong doses of medicinal spirit, the latter that nothing but drops of spirit in a hundred-thousandth-fold state of dilution, would have preserved the strength and health of the matron. Which of the two contending parties will succeed in inducing the other to acknowledge the justice of its opinion? We doubt whether either will do so. The matter in dispute will always remain an open question. We shall therefore, also in our case, leave it undecided, and merely ask, if Austria's pitiful state, in 1848, happened only by reason of its system of government, how is it to be explained that other countries, governed on totally different principles, were plunged into a similar state?

The seeds of the Revolution were chiefly sown in the years 1813 and 1814, when the princes evoked the spirit of liberty amongst their people, in order to contend against the despotism of Napoleon. The recollections of the French revolution of the previous century, together with the philosophical doctrines which preceded and followed that event, had prepared the soil for the reception of this seed. Disagreement amongst the princes; the craving of some for popularity; the neglect of popular interests by others,* and the errors of all parties, encouraged the development of the growing bud; the French kingdom of the barricades of 1830 matured the flower, and the restoration of the republic in February, 1848, ripened the fruit.

Constitutions were no protection against the revolutionary tendencies of the year 1848.

The Austrian system of government, as it subsisted previous to March, was the result of the conviction of the Emperor Francis that it was impossible by any other system to hold together the different parts of his kingdom, as they were then circumstanced, and which could not be altered without a revolution; and thus that system was no invention of Metternich's, although he, in common with every other director of the chief executive power in the state, steadily adhered to it.

The degradation and slavery of the people, the oppression or supremacy of individual races or classes, was no part of

* The review of "Genesis," in the "Historische Politische Blätter," denies the existence of that neglect as regards Germany. We did not mean to maintain its existence generally and absolutely, we merely wished to indicate that several governments in and out of Germany, were, in comparison with others, backward in their care for various subjects of moral and material interest to the people; *viz.*, education, the promotion of industry and commerce, &c.; and that they consequently, comparatively speaking, incurred the reproach of neglect.

this system, and was neither desired by the imperial family, nor by the Austrian statesmen.

In carrying out this system, some contradictions occurred in the establishment of certain maxims, whereby the power of offering resistance to the hostile spirit of the age was weakened.

The rulers of Austria and their counsellors strove sincerely to establish and promote the welfare of the people, but not in the manner demanded by the organs of the spirit of the age.

A great deal, but not everything, that was established previous to March, might and should have been other and better in Austria than it actually was.

The principal fault lay in *not governing;* the administration fancied *they governed,* while they merely *administered* the state after a petty household system.

The chief sins of the Austrian government were sins of omission.

Their sources were—want of decision, the result chiefly of too earnest an anxiety to attain the best advantage that was possible, in place of striving after acknowledged good ; a reluctance to increase the people's burdens ; a compliance with the opposition of those who would be compelled to abandon comfortable situations in consequence of improvements demanded by the times and by the unwieldy nature of the state machine.

It was not in the power of any single director of the government, previous to March, to stop these sources of mischief. The revolution dried them up ; and therefore the evils, of which they were the cause, may for the future be more easily avoided by those who exercise the authority of government, than they could have been by their predecessors.

The revolution in Austria was not occasioned by the national fanaticism of the people, but the latter feeling was awakened by the revolution, which sought to use it as a lever to rouse the apathetic masses of the population for the attainment of its own objects.

The revolution was prepared by the Estates and by the moneyed aristocracy in a lion's league with the so-termed intelligent classes, for the furthering of their own individual interests; and the outbreak was occasioned by the misguided masses of the people.*

The government was taken by surprise by this outbreak; in depending too much on the attachment of the people, it entertained too slight an apprehension of their falling victims to seduction, and thus became heedless of the danger.

The revolution was called into existence before March 13th, 1848. That day merely removed the veil which had previously concealed it.

That veil had been previously seen through by the government, though they afterwards culpably omitted to make timely preparations of defence.

* The term "Lion's League" (Löwenbündniss) has given offence; yet the result of that alliance, as now before our eyes, proves the expression to be correct. One of the allies—the aristocracy of the Estates—was hurled down to the Manes of Erebus. The second—the moneyed aristocracy—has lost its influence in the same proportion as it, since 1848, has lost its millions. The third ally—intelligence—enjoys the fruits of the victory. In the field of knowledge, the learned make use of the press, without fearing the scissors of the censor. The church, both of the new and the old covenant, and in the first, the Catholic, not less than the acatholic, teaches, commands, and forbids in its sphere, without being any longer subjected to the interference of the State. Individual freedom has, since 1848, been expanded only in the field of intelligence. Our inquiring eye has discovered no augmentation of material interests. The free Austrian citizen after March, as regards residence, trade, and industry, and the enjoyment of pleasure, &c., appears not to be in possession of any greater liberty, than that in which the Austrian subject before March already rejoiced. Can it thus be any longer doubtful to which of the allies, at the division of the prey, the lion's part devolved?

The so-termed acquisitions of March were not the result of a contest, but of a mere piece of jugglery.

The interruption of the contest in the three days of March was required by circumstances. This interruption was afterwards imputed as a fault to the directors of the government, even by those who were previously hostile to the government, as soon as they perceived the value of what they had lost, and painfully missed what they no longer possessed.*

* The correctness of this sentence has been doubted even by that party which now boasts and rejoices within the abandoned camp of the defeated party. This circumstance furnishes a proof how little, on the occasion of popular disturbances, mild proceedings are rewarded by gratitude. As long as the movements of the 13th of March bore merely the character of street riots, the authorities would have undoubtedly found no difficulty in suppressing them, most probably without the shedding of blood. *That* opportunity was allowed to pass away. Those who, on the morning of the eventful day had been exposed to violence, desired no protection, but rather increased the moral power of the popular agitation, as they publicly acknowledged the justice of the demands of the people by charging themselves with the office of mediators between the people and the government. The feelings which burst forth at Vienna had also found expression in other parts of the empire. Presburg, at a no great distance, and Prague, somewhat more remote, had shown themselves quite as adverse to the government as Vienna itself. No armed rebels, indeed, but only importunate beggars, appeared before the emperor on the 13th of March. The brigand, who, in a menacing attitude, with a pistol in his hand, enters your chamber, is met without hesitation, or any fear of censure, by a pistol-shot;—not so the beggar, who, with humble mien and uncovered head, passes your threshold, and who subsequently, with effrontery, yet without threats, asks for a gift. If it should be afterwards discovered that banditti, who were concealed outside, entered by stealth the door which had been opened to the supplicant, in order to commit a robbery, the fate of the person robbed will be pitied, but he will not be suspected of weakness or cowardice for not having shot the humble beggar, with his hat in his hand, and thereby frightened the banditti from attacking his house. We saw, on the 13th of March, 1848, the Estates of Lower Austria, in the imperial castle, in no other character than that of supplicants and mediators. Their intentions appeared peaceable, their attachment to the imperial house unshaken. Amongst those who had followed them, and were waiting without, no banditti had as yet been discovered. Was it, therefore, in a moral point of view, possible for the government to resort to force of arms before it had evident proofs of the presence, not only of

The revolution, by means of the imperial decree of March 15th, 1848, might have been converted into a reformation, if the resolutions of that decree had been fulfilled with effect, prudence, and determination.

The free grant of a constitution, on April 25th, was an inconsiderate departure from that decree, and a political mistake.

The recognition of the popular principle first occurred on April 8th, by the overthrow of the constitution of the Estates of Bohemia.

The power of the democrats was increased through the arbitrary control exercised over the government by the Vienna Association, which usurped the privileges that belonged only to the Austrian representatives of the people.

It was not the will of the Austrian people, but the will of those usurpers, which overturned the chartered constitution, and occasioned the introduction of a constituent Diet;

supplicants, but also of banditti ruffians? Might it, in utter defiance of public opinion at home and abroad, have answered the supplications for reform only with the thunder of cannons? Was it not its duty to acquaint the people, before it smote them to the ground, of what the imperial decree of the 12th of March, 1848, had already, antecedently to the agitation at Vienna of the 13th of March, granted to the provincial Estates, and of which the people was yet ignorant? Was it not natural to suppose, looking to the high opinion which the government entertained of the loyalty and the attachment of the Viennese, that the riotous petition of the 13th of March would not have been attempted, if the Viennese had been informed of the emperor's decree,—viz. to take into consideration as quickly as possible, with deputies from the Provincial Estates, and, if necessary, even with the aggregate body of the Estates, those measures which the existing state of things dictated? Is it, therefore, in accordance with justice to load the government with reproaches and invectives for having done by its manifesto, on the evening of the 13th of March, what it had omitted to do in the morning of that day (namely, to inform the people of the resolution taken by the emperor), and for not having employed, without such a preliminary manifesto, the armed force against the defenceless?

On calm reflection, the correctness of the above sentence will be acknowledged by every one who is able to comprehend the state of affairs of that time, and in whose heart the feelings of humanity dwell.

drove the emperor from Vienna; insisted violently on the recognition of the supreme authority of the city of Vienna, and the consequent withdrawal of the sovereign from the seat of the central government and of the Diet; which compelled the setting up of an absolute imperial viceroy for that portion of the kingdom which formed no part of Hungary, after another had been set up for that latter kingdom at Buda-Pesth; which extorted from the Diet, at the moment of its opening, the appointment of a new administration, and, before the completion of its duties as a constituent Diet, claimed for it the exercise of the executive power.

The lamentable mistakes of the Diet are to be attributed to this misdirection of its destination (viz. a revision of the constitution of April 25th), as well as to the moral and intellectual incapacity of the majority of its members, which, again, were not the results of the election laws alone, but of the apathy with which the more peaceable and intelligent portion of the electors were seized at the hour of election. The political reformation which was pursued in Hungary in a legal manner, with the royal approbation obtained on April 11th, 1848, bore within itself the seeds of the bloody revolution which broke out six months later; because the king, relying on the loyal dispositions of the Magyar representatives, had altered the situation of Hungary with respect to the adjacent territories, and to the other parts of the empire, subject to an impracticable condition, and saw his sincere desires to influence the Magyars in the adoption of a peaceable equalization of conditions, frustrated by the exertions of their leaders to further their own schemes of separation. The political suicide of Transylvania was not the choice of the majority of the population, but the effect of terror.

The civil war between Hungary and Transylvania broke

out between the Magyars and the other races who inhabited those countries; namely, the Croatians, Slavonians, and Servians in the former, and the Saxons and Romanians in the latter country, against the will of the king; and its object was the protection of their nationality, which was threatened by the Magyars.

The Apostolic King and Emperor of Austria first took part in this war when the Magyars threw down the gauntlet to him. To take up this gauntlet was the king's right, and the emperor's duty,—and his strict duty, because the separate establishment of the kingdom of Hungary, with its reformed constitution, could not but lead to the dissolution of the empire, which had now become constitutional.

The war in Hungary and Transylvania was not merely a struggle for dynastic or national interests, but a combat between order and anarchy, civilization and barbarism, the preservation of society and general destruction.

The continuation of the Austrian empire in its integrity is due to that powerful body which alone remained firm, viz. the army; particularly to the army of the Italian general, who, preserving his courage, self-dependence, and discretion, even in misfortune, saved that part of the empire; and also to the general in Bohemia, before whose sword the insurrection in Prague and Vienna gave way; and to the Ban of Croatia, who first established a firm rampart against the roaring tide of Magyar tyranny.

These are the views which should render this work acceptable to our contemporaries who are interested in the dissemination of truth. We have no intention of becoming either the accusers or defenders of the Austrian government and its rulers, either before or after the days of March. But as the painter must represent in his picture both the regular and irregular features of the countenance which his pencil

delineates upon the canvass, truly, as they appear to his eyes, even so must the features of those transactions be represented in this work, as they were witnessed by the author. The eyes of all men do not perceive objects in the same manner, and one man may therefore consider a portrait to be an extraordinary resemblance, whilst another discovers in it no likeness at all to the original. So will it be with this work. Only let no one do it the injustice of considering it a caricature, painted in a reactionary spirit, in order to forward such views. Reaction, unless the expression means an effort to re-establish the dominion of authority, of justice, and of law, which are disturbed by every revolution—in which sense every upright citizen is reactionary — is an impossibility. As steam which has once escaped from the cylinder can never again be compressed into it, so a people can never again be reduced to the condition from which a revolution, once fully accomplished, has delivered them. The people of Austria must therefore continue in possession of the constitutional privileges which were granted to them in the year 1848. But this possession must be secured to them by institutions sufficient to protect them against the schemes of despotism, not only from above, but also from the sides and from below ; for far less insupportable to a people is a despot with a crown, than despots with a kalpack, with a Swornost cap, with a Swabian hat, or even with the red Phrygian bonnet. The entire and very peculiar conglomeration of races, of which the empire of Austria is composed, requires for such protection the enjoyment of peculiar constitutional institutions.

The unity of the kingdom must be maintained. It exists in substance as long as the union of the different countries exists, over which the house of Hapsburg rules. It was described as an already established fact by the words of the

Pragmatic Sanction, "*indivisibiliter et inseparabiliter*," in no ambiguous manner, according to the statesmanlike notions of those days—it has been practically acknowledged by all Europe—only the word was not expressed, which was suitable to the circumstances. But even the word itself was afterwards used in the proclamation, that the Austrian aggregate of territories should be styled an empire, which took place when the Emperor Francis laid aside the crown of the German empire. The proper national meaning of the term, according to the plan of the chancellor of state, Prince Metternich, should have been symbolically explained to the eyes of all the people of Austria and Europe on the succession of the Emperor Ferdinand to the throne, by the religious ceremony of an imperial coronation. But this statesmanlike plan, like many others, was not carried out.

But the preservation of the unity of the empire by no means depends upon the uniformity of the internal administration of its parts, a plan sought to be introduced by the Emperor Joseph II., by confounding the two opposite ideas of government and administration. The revolution of the year 1848 has, it is true, annihilated the parchment privileges of the Estates in all quarters of the empire, but not the character, the habits, and the wants of its different races. By the conditions of the 4th and 5th sections of the Chartered Constitution of March 4th, 1849, the independence of all the crown lands within the limits appointed by the constitution was guaranteed, and to each separate race an equality of privileges was secured, united with the maintenance and support of their own nationality and language. A revocation of these concessions and assurances, particularly in relation to those portions of the empire which require to be reconquered, can in a juridical point of view be justified, from the very claim connected

with the right of conquest; but such a course appears politically and morally impossible, because in that event the government can only depend for support on the bayonet, whose power, as the present time teaches us, may produce, it is true, for the moment a decisive effect, but can never anywhere establish, and least of all in a constitutional state, the obedience of the governed in a lasting manner.

At present, then, the great task to accomplish is,—

"The security of the unity of the kingdom; the security of the constitutional rights of each crown land and of each citizen, and also of the crown itself; and the security of each race, in the spirit of the Chartered Constitution, against every attack, whether it come from above, from below, or from the side."

From the errors of the government and of the governed, which this work does not pretend to have discovered (for they were already known), but merely to have brought to recollection, let both parties understand what they should refrain from doing. What they should do can be explained in a few words. The government should, by their course of conduct, establish a conviction in the minds of their subjects, that the interests of both are identical; they should frame institutions to check the centrifugal motion of the separate divisions which constitute the united country of Austria, but which at the same time should allow to each separate part its own individual natural form and motion, without interrupting the steady and regular pursuit of the common course, determining openly and firmly to oppose such interruption, let it come from what quarter it may. The governed, also, should learn that any disturbance in the motion of the whole, or even in any of its parts, will bring destruction on themselves, and they should therefore neither interrupt the common course nor dispute the form and

motion of the neighbouring divisions; they should reverence right, and its expression—the law—as the only bulwark of freedom, and should honourably support the government in word and deed in the assertion of its supremacy. By such means will the Austrian constitutional empire, which has passed uninjured through the storms of revolution, quickly attain that high point of internal improvement and happiness which is suitable to its nature, and assume and establish her right to that position in the state system of Europe to which she is entitled by her geographical position, the extent of her territory, the noble character of her people, and the eminent qualities of her young ruler. If the government and the governed, with calm zeal and mutual confidence, contribute their exertions to this great and noble object, its attainment must be the successful result of their united endeavours.*

* A year has elapsed since we wrote those words. The government has, in that interval, with gigantic efforts, pushed forward the construction of the State-fabric. What have the government done? Some have been indifferent spectators; others have blamed the architectural imperfections of the fabric, the inevitable consequence of the haste with which it had to be constructed; others, again, have secretly grudged seeing many of their own illusions dispelled. Such discoveries must doubtless have been painful. We have, in this third edition of Genesis, referred to some things which stand in total contrast to those illusions which in 1848 excited the masses to join in the political agitation. Yet the government is not to be censured for the palpable consequences of former fanaticism. Political enthusiasm must share the fate of any other enthusiasm. It is likewise beguiled by "the sweet belief in beings to which its dreams gave birth;" with regard to it also, "What once was beauteous and divine, is now the prey of rude reality." No government can secure what political enthusiasts two years since hoped to acquire. Should divine wrath ever in any country allow the Red Republic to rise upon the ruins of another form of government, its illusions will appear in a frightful form—dripping with blood. As far as we can perceive, the predecessors of those who succeeded to power in Austria after March, have very little reason for envying the latter, as they are not regarded by the people with more favour than themselves. The judgment passed on either does not seem to be very just. The present ministry has to solve the most difficult problem of reconstructing in

haste the destroyed fabric of the State, and of reconciling contradictions which, in order to satisfy the claims of the moment, could not be prevented from being admitted into the plan of the building. According to that plan, the *unitary constitutional empire* is to be formed of twenty separate crown lands, and of ten different races, with due regard for the independence of those crown lands, and the equal rights of those races, as to the preservation and cultivation of their nationality and language. History, as far as we know, has no other instance of such a problem. The boundaries between the securities for the unity of the States on the one hand, and for the independence of each crown land on the other, as also for the equal rights of every race, cannot possibly be drawn distinctly; for in every organic structure—and the State is such a structure—everything which operates upon an individual part, operates also more or less on the whole. To secure the well-being of the whole, is the first duty of the government. At present, it acts up to its duty, under the pressure of the desire for separation entertained by some of the constituent parts of the empire,—which desire, suppressed for a short time by the sentiment of unity and the bravery of the victorious army, cannot yet be considered extinct. Is the government to be censured for not gratifying all the wishes of each crown land and race. We would venture to advise the latter, if we may be permitted to do so, to confine those wishes,—especially at the present moment of a new organization, within the limits of the greatest possible moderation, in order to prevent, on the occasion of constructing the constitutional empire, a repetition of what is said to have happened at the building of the Tower of Babel. The Diets of the crown lands and the general Imperial Diet will, without fail, either destroy the unity of the empire or the constitution itself, nay, perhaps both, if they should allow themselves to be induced, with fanatical zeal, or in an inflexible spirit of theory, and without a due regard to the existing state of affairs, to attempt, in their literal and complete sense, the realization of those concessions which, by the 4th and 5th paragraphs of the imperial constitution of the 4th of March, 1849, have been made to the various provinces of the empire. The honest intentions and zealous efforts of the emperor and his ministers to preserve both the unity and the constitution of the empire, are beyond question. Whether those efforts will be crowned with success, depends on the future representatives of the people. Would that these hints could receive calm consideration at the soon approaching elections for the provincial Diets, as well as at those of a later date for the general Imperial Diet, at the hands of the electors, and subsequently also of the elected. The future fate of the Austrian constitutional empire is in their hands.

APPENDIX TO GENESIS.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.—I.

"Most High Decree.

"We, Ferdinand the First, by the grace of God Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the fifth of the name; King of Lombardy and Venice, of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Galicia, Lodomeria, and Illyria; Archduke of Austria; Duke of Lorraine, Salzburg, Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, Upper and Lower Silesia; Grand Duke of Transylvania, Margrave of Moravia, Princely Count of Habsburg and Tyrol, &c. &c., have now adopted such measures as we have deemed necessary to satisfy the wishes of our loyal people.

"The freedom of the press is, by our declaration of the abolition of the censorship, established in the same manner as in all other states where it exists.

"A National Guard, constituted on the basis of property and intelligence, already discharges its salutary duties.

"The necessary steps have been taken for a convocation of the representatives of all the Provincial Estates, and of the Central Congregations of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, in the shortest possible time, in order, with an increased representation of the citizens, and paying regard to the exist-

ing provincial constitutions, to co-operate in the constitution of the country which has been determined on by us.

"Accordingly, we expect with confidence that men's minds be tranquillized, that the studies (of the universities) will resume their regular course, that trade and peaceful commerce will again revive.

"We entertain this hope the more, because, having been amongst you to-day, we have convinced ourselves, with feelings of emotion, that the loyalty and attachment which for centuries you have uninterruptedly paid to our ancestors, and also to ourselves upon every occasion, inspires you now as heretofore.

"Given in our imperial residence and capital city of Vienna, March 15th, 1840, and the fourteenth year of our reign.

"FERDINAND. (L.S.)

"CHARLES Count VON INZAGHI,
High Chancellor.

"FRANCIS Baron VON PILLERSDORF,
Aulic Chancellor.

"JOSEPH Baron VON WEINGARTEN,
Aulic Chancellor.

"In obedience to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty's high express commands:

"PETER RITTER VON SATZGEBER,
Imperial and Royal Privy Councillor."

II.

"*Ministerial Proclamation of May 26th and 27th*, 1848.

"The Ministerial Council, in order to meet the urgent wishes of the people for the prevention of greater dangers, and at the request of the Academic Legion, has resolved not to insist on the execution of the order to dissolve the Legion, and to unite the same with the National Guard, and expects that the Academic Legion will, of its own accord, propose sureties to render the safety and the return of the emperor possible.

"PILLERSDORF, SOMMARUGA, KRAUS, LATOUR, BAUMGARTNER."

"*Vienna, May 26th*, 1848."

"The assurances of the emperor, of May 15th and 16th of this year, continue in their full extension.

"The Academic Legion continues unaltered.

"The military will immediately retire to their barracks, and the posts at the gates will be maintained jointly by the National Guards, the Academic Legion, and the military, in equal force.

"PILLERSDORF, SOMMARUGA, KRAUS, LATOUR, BAUMGARTNER."

"*Vienna, May 26th*, 1848."

"The military hereby receives orders immediately to retire. Employment will immediately be provided for the workmen; wherefore, for the restoration of tranquillity, they must withdraw to their pursuits.

"PILLERSDORF, BAUMGARTNER, KRAUS."

"*Vienna, May 26th*, 1848."

"The undersigned declare that the troops of the garrison have already, pursuant to the orders of their commander, retired to their barracks, and can only be called out at the request of the National Guard, for their support.

"PILLERSDORF, LATOUR."

"*Vienna, May 26th*, 1848."

"The Ministerial Council is sensible of the extraordinary circumstances which have made it a matter of necessity that a committee of citizens, national guards, and students should be formed to watch over the order and safety of the city, and the rights of the people, and publishes the resolutions which that committee adopted on the 26th instant, in the following order :—

"'(1.) The posts at the city gates shall be occupied by the National Guard, the Civic Guard, and the Academic Legion alone ; but the other posts, by the National and Civic Guard jointly with the military ; the posts in the buildings of the war department, being military posts, shall be occupied by the military alone.

"'(2.) Only such a military force as is necessary for the service shall remain here ; all the rest shall, as quickly as possible, withdraw.

"'(3.) Count Hoyos remains (subject to a lawful course of proceeding), as a pledge for what has been promised, and as surety for the privileges obtained on May 15th and 16th, under the superintendence of the Committee of Citizens.

"'(4.) Those who are guilty of the transactions of May 26th shall be brought to public trial.

"'(5.) The ministry submits to his majesty the urgent request that his majesty will immediately return to Vienna ; or in case the health of his majesty shall prevent this course,

that he will appoint one of the imperial princes as his representative.'

"The ministry must at the same time invite the newly-formed committee to make them acquainted with the nature of the securities they may offer his majesty for his personal safety, and for the safety of the imperial family.

"The same ministry further places the whole property of the state, as well as that of the imperial court, all public establishments, collections, institutions, and public corporations, in the capital, under the protection of the people of Vienna, and of the newly-formed committee, and declares the same independent of all other authority. They must commit to the same the full charge of public peace and order, as well as the protection of person and property.

"The same ministry must finally announce that they can only continue to discharge the business of the state, which has been temporarily confided to them, until the same is either withdrawn by his majesty, or the ministry shall be deprived of the means of adopting its measures with safety, and discharging them under their own responsibility.

"In the name of the Ministerial Council,

"PILLERSDORF."

"*Vienna, May 27th,* 1848."

"With the consent of the Ministerial Council, it is declared that only the 12th rifle battalion and the infantry regiment Prince Emile, were intended to march hither, but that the proper orders have been since issued, that those two corps, especially the 2nd battalion of the abovenamed regiment, which was only intended to supply the place of the regiment Count Nugent, destined for Italy, shall not come hither.

"*Vienna, May 27th,* 1848." "PILLERSDORF."

III.

"*Imperial Announcement.*

"DEAR BARON VON PILLERSDORF,—I believe I owe it to my subjects to inform them, as speedily as possible, of the reasons which have determined me to leave my residence. The extraordinary and urgent nature of the circumstances do not permit me to confer with you thereupon in the first instance; I have therefore deemed it right to issue the following manifesto, and whilst I, at the same time, commission my governor in Tyrol to publish it immediately in that province, and intrust the same commission in respect of my kingdom of Hungary to the Palatine there resident, I direct you to publish the same in the rest of my states.

"FERDINAND, (m. p.)

"*Innsbruck, May* 21*st*, 1848.

"*Manifesto to my People.*

"The proceedings in Vienna on May 15th impress me with the sad conviction that an anarchical faction, relying upon the Academical Legion, which has chiefly been led astray by strangers, and some sections of the citizens and National Guards, who have swerved from their accustomed loyalty, have wished to deprive me of all freedom of action, in order by such means to enslave the well-disposed inhabitants of my capital and the provinces, which are universally irritated at such individual presumption. Nothing remained except the choice of extricating myself with the assistance of the royal garrison, by force, if necessary, or to withdraw for a time to the retirement of some one of those

provinces which, thanks be to God, have still continued loyal.

"The choice could not be doubtful. I chose the peaceful and bloodless alternative, and betook myself to that mountain land which has at all times proved faithful, where I might readily receive news from that army which is fighting so bravely for its country.

"The idea is far from my mind of wishing to withdraw, or to curtail, those gifts and their natural consequences, which I bestowed upon my people in the days of March. I shall, on the contrary, ever feel disposed to listen to the just complaints of my people, when made in a lawful manner, and to take into account the national and provincial interests; but these must be verified as being general, brought forward in a legal manner, considered by the Diet, and then submitted to me for approbation, and must not be extorted by the armed hands of a few unauthorized individuals.

"I wished to say thus much for the general satisfaction of my people, who have been painfully excited by my departure from Vienna, and also to remind them that I have ever been ready, with paternal love, to receive my returning children, even though they should be considered lost.

"FERDINAND," (m. p.)

"*Innsbruck, May 20th,* 1848."

The following cabinet letter to the Ministerial Council was at the same time prepared, which, as its contents show, imposed upon them the duty to adopt those measures which the situation of the monarchy and the safety of the throne required, to preserve the regular course of business undisturbed.

"DEAR BARON VON PILLERSDORF,—The Field-marshal Lieutenant Count Hoyos has just presented the letter addressed to me by the Ministerial Council on the evening of the 17th instant. I reply thereto, that the city of Vienna has lately, to their great prejudice, so grossly violated the loyalty which they have always formerly evinced towards me and my ancestors, that I find myself compelled to leave them for a time, and not to return before I have become perfectly convinced of the renewal of their former disposition towards me. The Ministerial Council will, as I arranged previous to my departure, find it their duty, in the mean time, to adopt those measures which the situation of the monarchy and the safety of the throne require, in order that the regular course of business may not be interrupted by my temporary change of residence in my states.

"FERDINAND," (m. p.)

"*Innsbruck, May 20th*, 1848."

"*To the Loyal Inhabitants of my Capital.*

"The city of Vienna, in the first instance, and soon afterwards the representatives of my entire empire, gratefully acknowledged their conviction that it was to me, in the memorable days of March, a duty of sacred earnestness, and the most satisfactory deed of my life, both to my heart and to the boundless love I bear my people, to meet their wishes by a constitution adapted to the wants of the time, and free in the widest meaning of the word. The happiness of my people is also my happiness; and influenced by this feeling alone, on the proposal of my council, I granted the constitution which was announced on April 25th.

"I have not wished to anticipate by this measure the

demands of the age, the wants of the separate provinces, or the more influential opinion of my people, which, when announced in a legal manner, will ever confirm me in my determinations.

"But my conviction that the charter of the constitution, accorded by me, would satisfy general expectations, has been destroyed by the solicitude displayed in the various provinces for the correct apprehension and appreciation of their not unimportant separate interests, as well as by the events that happened in Vienna on the 15th of May.

"On this account, on the 16th of May, I raised no objection against declaring the next Diet to be a constituent Diet, and establishing a right of voting in accordance therewith. The manner in which I was induced to this course has deeply hurt me. The public voice of all Europe has unanimously pronounced its censure thereon in the highest degree. But I am ready firmly to maintain the transaction itself, because it affords a pledge that the constitution which is to impart moral and material strength to my kingdom will be the effect of public opinion openly expressed, both in its principles and its details, with which I am determined to go hand in hand.

"My most anxious wish, and I am convinced that I shall not express it in vain, is, that it may be possible to open the Diet speedily in Vienna, the seat of my government.

"In order, therefore, that the Diet should be opened there, and not quickly in some other place, it is indispensable that within the walls of Vienna undisturbed and firmly-established peace and order should reign, and that to the deputies from the provinces perfect safety shall be extended and secured for the freedom of their deliberations.

"I may therefore expect from the inhabitants of Vienna that they will do everything to re-establish lawful order in

every respect. I expect that all personal animosities will cease, and that amongst the inhabitants of Vienna the spirit of conciliation and peace will alone reign.

"With paternal affection I make these proposals to the united population of Vienna, and I calculate on their fulfilment, since I shall prize the day when, with the opening of the parliament, I can celebrate my joyful meeting the citizens of Vienna, who have ever been dear to my heart.

"FERDINAND, (m. p.)

"WESSENBERG, (m. p.); DOBLHOFF," (m. p.)

"*Innsbruck, June 3rd*, 1848."

IV.

"*Ministerial Proclamation.*

"Through the *Constitutional Gazette* of Prague, of May 31st, the ministry has learnt that a provisional government has been established in Prague.

"As soon as this news was confirmed by an official notification, the ministry found themselves compelled to represent to his majesty the emperor the illegality of such a proceeding, in order to prevent the approach of a deputation to procure a recognition of this measure.

"At the same time, the Minister of the Interior declared, in an order to the Provincial Chief of Bohemia, the whole proceeding to be illegal and void, and called upon him, on his responsibility, to give no encouragement to such a course. At the same time, the following notice was issued to the provincial chiefs :—

"'According to intelligence which has arrived to-day, a

provisional government has been established in Prague, under the supposition that communication with the responsible government has been interrupted by late events, whilst the posture of affairs renders speedy measures necessary, which far exceed the power of the existing authorities; and accordingly two members of the responsible Ministerial Council have been forthwith despatched to Innsbruck, in order to procure the imperial consent to this measure.

" 'I find myself compelled to announce to your excellency that in a despatch transmitted to the governing presidents in Bohemia I have pronounced such a course to be wholly illegal, uncalled for by any cause, dangerous in its consequences, and directly opposed to the views of his majesty, and therefore completely null and void. I therefore call on all governing presidents to pay no regard to such an illegal course till the decision of his majesty has been obtained, and to pay strict attention to the orders of the ministry, as I hold them responsible for the consequences and injury that have ensued, or may ensue, from such unlawful proceedings; and this responsibility I extend to all those who may have taken part in their determination. Finally, I require the governing presidents, in case they shall consider themselves personally bound by the revolution that has been adopted, to surrender their presidency over the provincial authorities and the government of the country to the existing vice-presidents. I must add to this communication the impressive demand, that in case of similar attempts to pursue such unlawful courses, you will frustrate every attempt of the kind, and upon your serious responsibility will avoid every course which in this important moment may weaken the integrity of the empire, and prevent the development of those resources which the honour, the welfare, and the maintenance of the monarchy indispensably require in their fullest extension.' "

V.

"*Proclamation.*

"In my manifesto of June 3rd, I expressed the intention of opening, in person, the Diet to be held in Vienna. I at that time cherished the hope that no obstacle would be offered to my intention, if even the time originally appointed could be adhered to.

"It is to me, however, a source of sorrow, that at this moment, when the convocation of the Constituent Diet can no longer be postponed, my impaired health does not allow me to undertake the journey to Vienna.

"But in order that the opening of the Diet may not be prevented, nor the necessary preparations impeded; and in order particularly that in this moment, so important for the welfare of the state, a strong union of all the organs of government may be effected, I have resolved, with the advice of my ministers, who are here present, to keep my dear brother near my person, in my present place of abode, and to send my dear uncle, the Archduke John, as my representative, to Vienna. During the time that must elapse before I can follow him to Vienna, I shall not only empower him to open the Diet, but also to discharge all the duties of government that require my decision; and I am convinced that, in intrusting him with my confidence, this confidence will find an echo in the hearts of my people, since, filled with the same dispositions, and governed by the same love and solicitude for my people, he will, doubtless, during the entire period of his office, act in my spirit.

"FERDINAND,

"WESSENBERG, DOBLHOFF."

"*Innsbruck, June 16th,* 1848."

VI.

" *Proclamation.*

" His majesty the emperor has, in consideration of his still-continuing indisposition, appointed me his representative.

" In this character I have to open the Diet in his name, and until his return to Vienna, to discharge the business of government which belongs to him as constitutional emperor.

" This confidence of my emperor is sacred to me. I will justify it by fulfilling his warmest and most sincere wishes, which have for their object to preserve strictly and conscientiously, to the Austrian people, the freedom and rights that have been secured to them, and to act in the spirit of justice and of mercy wherever the imperial word shall decide.

" The times are serious and decisive for the happiness and the power of Austria. A new and firm foundation has to be laid; legislation in all its branches needs important changes; and new resources require to be opened, in order to meet the most pressing emergencies. This important task can only be performed by the united and powerful co-operation of all, and by a general and courageous bearing towards the enemies of our country.

" With confidence I depend upon this general co-operation; I depend upon the love of the Austrian people for their emperor and for their beautiful country; I depend upon their intelligent regard for order and peace, as conditions of real freedom; and I depend, in fine, upon their confidence in my constant and honourable readiness to dedicate the utmost of my power to the cause of Austria's welfare and tranquillity.

"In their anticipations I feel myself strong, and filled with the best hopes that I shall be enabled to restore back into the hands of my gracious emperor the power which has been confided to me, strengthened by law, peace, and general prosperity.

"The Archduke JOHN."

VII.

"GENTLEMEN REPRESENTATIVES, — Commissioned by his majesty, our most gracious constitutional emperor, to open the Constituent Diet, I hereby discharge this gratifying duty; I welcome you with deep emotions, gentlemen, who are called to complete the great work of the regeneration of our country.

"The security of the freedom we have obtained for ourselves and for our posterity demands your open, independent co-operation for the establishment of the constitution.

"All the national divisions of the Austrian monarchy are equally dear to the heart of his majesty. The interests of all will find a firm foundation in their cordial brotherly feeling, in the perfect equality of all, and in their sincere attachment to Germany.

"The heart of his majesty was filled with sorrow to observe that the full abundance of all those blessings could not be at once attained, which the wise use of free institutions usually secures to a people.

"His majesty sympathizes deeply with the grievances of his people.

"With relation to Hungary and its adjacent territories, those sentiments of justice which distinguish that noble-minded people allow us to expect a peaceful arrangement of those questions which are still unsettled.

"The war in Italy is not carried on against the freedom of the Italian people: it has for its earnest object, whilst it fully recognised national claims, to assert the honour of the Austrian arms over the Italian powers, and to protect the most important interests of the state.

"Since our benevolent efforts peaceably to settle our unhappy discords have failed, it becomes the duty of our brave army to exact an honourable peace.

"The friendly relations of Austria with all other powers remain unchanged.

"Our friendly connections with Spain, for a long time interrupted, have been again restored.

"From the effects of former financial operations, and from the concurrence of extraordinary circumstances, the financial affairs of the kingdom are brought to a condition which demands unusual measures, and the ministry will be required, at the first opportunity, to propose the requisite plans, and lay before us the accompanying estimates.

"In the convocation of representatives, for an especial consideration of the public interests, will be found the best security for the moral and physical development of Austria.

"Gentlemen, his majesty conveys to you and to the entire nation his imperial welcome, and offers you the assurance of his cordial attachment.

"The Constituent Diet is opened."

VIII.

"SOVEREIGN ASSEMBLY OF OUR REALM!—The joy of the people of Austria on the day of the opening of the Sovereign Assembly has found a most gratifying echo with the Committee of the Citizens of Vienna, the National Guard, and the Academic Legion.

"Impressed with the high importance of the task undertaken by the Constituent Diet, upon the performance of which the fate of the Austrian people depends, the select committee considers it a most sacred duty, by means of increased exertions, to take care that the high Assembly may be undisturbed in its sittings. The necessity of accomplishing this mission, the committee, in conformity with the character of its institution, believes will be found in its known efficiency, and in the circumstances of the present time.

"History describes it to be a child of the revolution of the ever-memorable 26th of May, the offspring of an agreement between the people and the ministry. At that time, as the ministerial announcement of May 27th expressly declared, entire respons bility for public order and peace, as well as the protection of person and property, was confided to it, and the whole property of the state, as well as that of the court, and all public institutions, collections, and corporations in the capital, was placed under its safeguard; and it was declared to be an independent authority created for the preservation of order and the protection of the capital, as well as the guardianship of the rights of the people.

"The opinion of all reflecting and just-thinking people; the numerous addresses and solemn deputations sent to them from almost every province; the increasing number of petitions which every day arrived; but, above all, the restora-

tion and preservation of tranquillity, in spite of the ceaseless endeavours and intrigues of criminal agitators, afford testimony that this body has justified the confidence of the people, and ably discharged its duty up to the present day.

"The burden of its serious responsibility has not yet been removed, and it continues to the present hour to be the only real popular authority.

"In this capacity it considers itself, above all things, bound solemnly to express hereby to the high Assembly its sentiments of deep devotion, and in the following statement, to publish, for general information, its latest resolutions; because therein those particular points are expressed, which, according to its judgment, point out the sphere of its duties:—

"The committee has unanimously resolved to continue its sittings until the high Assembly shall announce its dissolution; or until the ministry shall either establish another popular authority, or shall so reorganize the existing one, that the preservation of order, peace, and security may with confidence be intrusted to it.

"Until that time, however, in the first place, it will use all the means in its power for the preservation of order, peace, and security; and in the second, it will co-operate with the ministry in their efforts, that the authorities, by a popular reconstruction which shall possess the confidence of the people, shall be strengthened and empowered to undertake the discharge of active duties, and render the dissolution of the committee possible.

"In order finally to put an end to that arbitrary self-assistance, which endangers order and security in the highest degree, the committee believes, that in its character of defender of the rights of the people, it is also its duty to afford every individual whose rights are attacked that protection

which each citizen, in the existing state of the law, is entitled to demand from the proper authorities; that for such a purpose the committee will interfere by mediation, and, if necessary, by force.

"The committee has in this statement given, in a general manner, a sketch of its future duties.

"In the consciousness of honourably discharging their civic duties, which have been undertaken with the confidence of the people, and are inscribed upon their hearts as a command resulting from the necessities of the capital, the committee, for the attainment of its glorious object of emboldening the timid and the suppressing all evil-minded agitators, respectfully solicits the approbation of the high Assembly.

"The Committee of Vienna Citizens, the National Guard, and the Academic Legion, for the preservation of order and safety, and the maintenance of the rights of the people.

"Dr. WURDA, Secretary, Representative."

"*Vienna, July 25th.* 1848."

IX.

"*Answer to the Assembled Estates of the Diet of Transylvania.*

"The union of Transylvania with Hungary has filled our breasts with warm feelings of joy. Intelligence of happier and more important events could not reach us.

"We were surprised, not so much by the unexpectedness of our joy, for we had expected with full confidence the union of the two sister nations; but we were astonished by

the excess of our proud conviction, that this country, united from henceforth, would no longer remain a prey to cabals or violence.

"We delayed no exertions to procure the sanction of the monarch to the articles of union. The Ministerial President proceeded forthwith, accompanied by a deputation, to our crowned king, to request urgently the royal word and seal for the union; and he did not return before, in communicating the monarch's consent to the perfect incorporation of the kingdoms, he could announce that the imperishable foundation-pillars of our future greatness had been laid.

"So long in bygone days as these two nations were united, we were surrounded by greatness, glory, and national renown; on the day which separated us from each other commenced our weakness, humiliation, and slavery. The might of the conqueror broke against our united endeavours; separated, we were both slaves, and erased from the list of independent nations.

"God, the common alliance of blood, and national recollections of the past, commanded us to be brothers, and not merely neighbours as we were previously. A neighbour troubles himself little about the lot of his neighbour. All of us, inhabitants of Transylvania and Hungary, are allied. We are brothers who love each other, desire our common welfare, and wish to live and are ready to die for each other's good.

"The union is a new public announcement of this national brotherhood in the face of Europe; that which blood unites and the joys and sorrows of a thousand years sanctifies, that we declare to-day publicly before the world to be eternal.

"May this be the first most glorious fruit of our brotherly re-union after three hundred years' separation.

"Even in separation we were united. The princely word

of our crowned king has now sanctioned our practical union. Nothing more remains than that the blessing of God should crown this union, which is ready, on behalf of the people of every tongue and of every creed, to adopt, acknowledge, and practise the sacred principles of freedom, equality, and brotherly love.

"Count Louis Batthyani, Francis Deak, Gabriel Klausal, Louis Kossuth, B. John Eötvös, Bart. Szemere, Laz. Messaros, G. Stephen Szechenyi."

"*Buda-Pesth, June 14th*, 1848."

X.

"*Speech from the Throne.*

"In the name and as the representative of the exalted person of our glorious reigning king, Ferdinand V., I hereby open the present Diet.

"The unusual circumstances of the country render it necessary, without waiting for the conclusion and completion of all those plans and propositions which the responsible ministry of his majesty had to prepare and bring to a conclusion upon the proposal and at the command of the late Diet, to convoke the present Diet without delay.

"In Croatia open rebellion exists; in the provinces of the Lower Danube armed bodies of rioters have violated the peace of the country; and as it is the most anxious wish of his majesty to avoid a civil war, his majesty is convinced that the assembled representatives of the nation will consider it

as the first and most important object of their solicitude to adopt every measure calculated to restore the interrupted peace, to maintain the integrity of the holy Hungarian crown, and to secure the inviolable sanctity of the laws.

"The defence of the country and the state of the finances will therefore be the principal points to which, under the present extraordinary circumstances, I, acting in the name of his majesty, particularly direct the attention and solicitude of the national representatives.

"The responsible ministers of his majesty will announce measures adapted to these circumstances. His majesty confidently hopes that the representatives of the nation will introduce speedy and suitable propositions with relation to all those matters which, in preference to every other consideration, the safety and welfare of the country demand.

"With feelings of pain, and the deepest displeasure, has his majesty learned, that although he, who has ever held the happiness of all his subjects, of every country, dear to his heart, and only obeyed the impulse of his own will, when, during the last Diet, upon the request of the loyal Hungarian nation, he sanctioned with his high royal approbation those laws which were requisite to further the improvement of the country in accordance with the exigencies of the time; yet evil-minded inciters to sedition have been found, particularly in Croatia, and in the provinces of the Lower Danube, to excite the inhabitants of those countries against one another, who differ in language and religion, by means of false reports and alarming tales, impelling them, by slanderously asserting that the above-mentioned laws were not the free expression of his majesty's will, violently to oppose the dominion of law and of regular authority; and some have carried their sedition to such an extent as to assert that their opposition is intended to promote the

interests of the exalted royal house, and is exerted with the knowledge and approbation of his majesty.

"To quiet the minds, therefore, of all the inhabitants of this country, of every language and religion, I hereby declare, by the special and most gracious command of our most illustrious lord and master, and in his most exalted name, and as the representative of his person, that his majesty is firmly and immovably determined to protect with his royal power the unity and integrity of the Hungarian throne against every attack from abroad and attempt at division at home, and firmly to maintain unchanged every law which has been at any time sanctioned by him. And as his majesty, on the one hand, will never allow the freedom of his citizens, which has been secured by the laws, to be violated, so, on the other, his majesty himself, and all the members of his royal house, condemn in the strongest manner the daring hardihood of those individuals who venture to assert that any unlawful action, be it of whatever nature it may, or any disobedience to lawful authority, is compatible with the most high will of his majesty, or has happened for the advantage of his royal house.

"The union of Transylvania and Hungary has been sanctioned by his majesty with the most cordial and paternal feelings, because his Majesty has thereby fulfilled the anxious wishes of his truly beloved Hungarian and Transylvanian people, and also because the territory of two countries now incorporated together, by the united development of their maturity and power, will thereby become a firmer support of the throne and of freedom.

"His Majesty's Hungarian ministry will announce whatever measures, in relation to the details of that union which has already been effected, remain to be considered by the legislative bodies.

"With relation to foreign affairs in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, where the hostile troops of the King of Sardinia, and of some other Italian powers, have attacked the army of his majesty, the war has not yet been brought to a termination. With the other foreign powers our friendly relations still continue undisturbed, of whose continuance his majesty doubts the less, because his majesty has ever made it an object of the greatest solicitude with his government, to neglect nothing which, without injury to the dignity of his royal throne, the safety of his loyal subjects and their real interests, may establish a peaceful understanding with foreign powers; and his majesty hopes, with justice, that as he has ever pursued the principle of neutrality with respect to the interior affairs of other powers, the same neutrality will be observed in an equal degree by foreign states.

"His majesty entertains no doubt that the Diet, having in view the inseparably united interests of 'the royal throne and of constitutional freedom,' will, without delay, adopt every regulation which the welfare of the country so urgently demands. And I discharge the high duty imposed upon me by his majesty, when I assure the Diet and the whole loyal nation, of the gracious favour, and the heartfelt paternal dispositions, of our most illustrious lord and king."

RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

INSTITUTED BY THE

IMPERIAL-ROYAL COURT-MARTIAL,

RESPECTING THE

MURDERERS OF THE MINISTER OF WAR,

GENERAL FIELD-MARSHAL

THEODOR COUNT BAILLET VON LATOUR.

PREFACE.

The object of the following pages is not merely to give a history of this event, so pregnant in its consequences, derived from official sources, together with a short sketch of the circumstances attending each individual charge, but also to make known the opinion of the public respecting the originators and chief actors in this crime, their motives, and the means they employed.

The number of witnesses produced, exceeding a thousand, of all classes, prevents our following their depositions singly; but such accounts have been selected as are placed beyond doubt by the concurrent testimony, on oath before the court, of numerous credible witnesses.

The results of the investigation are given in three sections; the first of which details the course of events in the War Office on the 6th of October, 1848; the second, the immediate actors; the last, the originators of the murder.

FIRST SECTION.

EVENTS IN THE WAR-OFFICE ON THE 6TH OF OCTOBER, 1848.

On the night of the 5th and 6th of October, 1848, a deputation of the guard of the Faubourgs waited upon the War Minister with a written request that the Richter battalion of grenadiers, which had received an order from the War Minister to proceed the next morning by railroad to Hungary, should be detained at Vienna. The deputation, in their representation, especially insisted on the fact, that the grenadiers belonged *to the troops of the German Confederation*, and were on good terms with the inhabitants of Vienna.

Count Latour referred the deputation to the commanding general, Count Auersperg, who, as might have been foreseen, declared it to be out of the question to listen to their request.

The same night the Minister of War was waited upon by the commander of the Academic Legion, Joseph Aigner, and informed that a fraternization had taken place in different public-houses between the troops of the grenadier battalion and the National Guards of the Wieden and Gumpendorf suburbs, when the grenadiers had been induced to promise to refuse to march, in case they were supported by the National Guards; that grenadiers and guardsmen of the suburbs had appeared in the so-called Aula in the course of the night, to assure themselves of the support of the students; and that Aigner, unable to restrain the Legion from supporting the grenadiers in their incipient insurrection, could only order the well-disposed students-in-law to the rail-

road, with a view to frustrate as much as possible the intentions of the other students.

To the representations of Aigner, Count Latour only answered, that the order for the departure of the grenadiers must be obeyed; adding, that he had himself been warned that his life was in danger from at least twenty different quarters.

At three o'clock in the morning he despatched his aide-de-camp, Major Baron Boxberg, to the commanding general, Count Auersperg, to inquire what arrangements had been made to insure the departure of the Richter battalion of grenadiers, and at the same time to direct that at least two divisions of cavalry should be called out to assist in enforcing this step.

Count Latour, moreover, informed the Minister of the Interior, Baron Doblhoff, through Major Boxberg and Lieutenant Walz, of the imminent danger of an *émeute*, with a request that all the means at his disposal should instantly be put in requisition to prevent a breach of the peace, and that for this purpose the National Guards should be called out.

Baron Doblhoff, who was laid up with illness, did not send for his officials until an hour afterwards, when he informed the Minister of War that he doubted whether the National Guards would be inclined to march out before an actual outbreak; but that he would give the necessary directions to their commander-in-chief.

In consequence of the stormy events on the Tabor Bridge, early on the morning of the 6th of October, the whole body of ministers gradually assembled at the War Office, whither the majority of the generals in active service and the chief officers repaired, to place themselves at the disposal of the War Minister.

Towards nine o'clock in the morning, whilst the commanding general, Count Auersperg, was still present at the War Office, the melancholy news was brought from the Tabor of the partial destruction of the bridges, and the death of General Bredy.

One order now rapidly succeeded another, when the commander of the Legion, Aigner, appeared at eleven o'clock at the War Office, with the tidings that two companies of the Legion, which he had placed for the protection of the station, had been fired upon by the military, and several students had been killed. Major Boxberg was despatched with an order to the Field-marshal-lieutenant Baron Csorich, who commanded at the Tabor, not to fire until he was actually attacked, and especially to avoid all unnecessary bloodshed.

The aide-de-camp found the troops at the end of the main street of the Leopoldstadt; the staff-officers commanding there in the absence of the lieutenant field-marshal, sent by him a request for assistance, having been attacked in the rear by a superior force, and compelled to retreat.

On their hasty retreat, Major Boxberg saw the first barricades erecting in the city, near the archbishop's palace, at the instigation of the students; and, in consequence of the information which he carried to the War Minister, the commanding general was empowered at one o'clock P.M., to suppress the rising in the Leopoldstadt by force of arms, and to take possession of the bridges,—an order, which was afterwards repeated by two officers despatched to him.

Meanwhile, some members of the Diet,—the President Strobach, Smolka, Fischhof, and others,—partly of their own accord, and partly at the invitation of the minister, repaired to the War Office, to take part in the consultations on the occurrences of the day.

After twelve o'clock at noon began the sanguinary riots in the Stephensplatz,—the immediate prelude to those in the War Office. The battalion of the Civic National Guards, who were drawn out to prevent the sounding of the alarm-bells, received a division of students who were bringing two cannon from the city arsenal to the Red Tower gate, with loud symptoms of discontent; and when the students, provoked by this, sought to press upon the City Guard, the commander of the latter ordered them to load, and the students hastily retreated.

The proletarians, enraged at this, mocked and insulted the Civic National Guards in the grossest manner, and threatened to fetch the guards of the Wieden Suburb to punish them.

In fact, three battalions of the latter shortly afterwards made their appearance, between whom and the Civic Guards shots were instantly exchanged; whereupon the latter, forced back into the crowd, partly fled to St. Stephen's church.

Thither they were pursued by the Wieden guards joined by the populace and students; the sacred edifice was profaned, and blood was shed upon the very steps of the altar.

One of the deputies of the Diet, Dr. Fischhof, in the ministerial council, stated that the proclamation to the National Guards, issued with a view to stop this fratricidal contest, proved equally fruitless as a former appeal to the inhabitants of Vienna, issued on occasion of the occurrences at the Tabor.

Meanwhile, other persons of the lower classes came to the War Office, with the urgent request for military support for the Civic Guards.

From the deficiency of troops, and in order not to leave the War Office wholly unprotected, which was only guarded by a company of Deutschmeister Grenadiers, and three companies

of pioneers, beside the usual troops of the main guard, Count Latour refused at first to listen to this demand.

Pressed, however, by urgent entreaties from many sides, and especially by the officers of the National Guard present, not to abandon the faithful Civic Guards, and the critical position of the latter being confirmed by one of the officers on duty on the Stephensplatz, the War Minister, at two o'clock P.M., gave the order to the colonel of the pioneers, to advance to the Stephensplatz with his troops and two cannon, to clear the square of the populace in case of need by force of arms, and to liberate the well-affected Civic Guards who were shut up in the church; but then to return immediately with the troops for the protection of the War Office.

After Colonel Schön had vainly tried by addresses and long and repeated summons to induce the students, the guards from the suburbs, and the armed workmen, to evacuate the Stephensplatz, a discharge of musketry suddenly brought on a collision with the excited mob.

With loud threats the armed populace stormed from all sides upon the colonel and his troops, and the tidings soon reached the War Office, that the pioneers, pressed by the superior force of the infuriated multitude, and the firing from the windows, were forced to retreat across the Graben, whilst in every quarter of the city, barricades, erected under the superintendence of students and foreigners, were rising up into immense bulwarks.

The imminent apprehensions for the War Office were lessened upon the arrival of the Landwehr battalion of Nassau infantry, who entered the city by the Schottenthor; but almost at the same time, and when Major-General Von Frank, despatched to the Hofplatz, conveyed the order to act on the offensive only in case of an attack, the report of musketry and cannon resounded on the Hof.

Almost at the same time came the announcement that the Nassau battalion, which was marching through the Bogner Street to the support of the pioneers, had been thrown into confusion by the fire from the windows of all the adjacent houses and the pressure of the proletarians streaming in masses from the streets, and that the battalion had retreated.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon, when, on account of the continually increasing danger, the main guard entered the War Office, and the chief gate toward the Hofplatz, which had till then remained open, was closed.

The garrison of the building, which was in this manner secured from without, consisted of 126 men of the second Deutschmeister grenadier company, under the command of Captain Brandmayer and Lieutenant-Major Carl Baron Grainger, who had been at the storming of the barricades in the Jägerzeil, on the 28th October, 1848, besides thirty-one grenadiers of the Imperial infantry, regiment No. 1, with their captain, Wilhelm Baron Von Geusau, and Lieutenant Stanislaus Von Marossany, both of the Duke of Nassau Infantry, No. 15, which formed the main guard; together with six cannoniers and their corporal, and one of the four cannons that had been saved by the main guard, three baggage-waggons, nine mounted orderlies with their corporal of the light-horse regiment, Count Wrbna, No. 6; lastly, twelve mounted orderlies of the civic cavalry, under their commander.

The cannon, loaded with canister-shot, was planted in the larger courtyard of the War Office, pointed towards the closed gate of the square; on either side of it stood a division of the Deutschmeister Grenadiers, under Captain Brandmayer, who had been joined by Captain Adolph Muth, of the 2nd Bana frontier regiment, and Lieutenant Basil Brano-

waizky, of the Warasdin-Creutzer frontier regiment, who happened to be at the time in the War Office.

It was resolved, that in case the chief gate should be forced, the grenadiers, after discharging the cannon, should attack the assailants at the point of the bayonet.

The rest of these grenadiers, under Lieutenant-Major Baron Grainger, were partly destined for the defence of the three back gates, which were hastily barricaded, partly for the occupation of the windows of the first story; whilst thirty-one grenadiers of the main guard, headed by Captain Baron Geusau and Lieutenant Marossany, under Major-General Von Frank, who held the command in the building, under the immediate directions of the War Minister, were ordered to defend the landing on the front staircase, namely, that under the entrance to the Hofplatz.

But a continually-increasing crowd had collected on this square, consisting of guards from the suburbs and armed workmen led by students, who in a manner besieged the building with loud shouts and tumult, in which were mingled cries of death to the War Minister, demanded the opening of the gates, and soon prepared to force them.

At the time when the chief gate was closed, a student and lieutenant of the Academic Legion, Wilhelm Rausch, appeared among the assembled ministers in the most passionate excitement.

He uttered violent reproaches against the War Minister for the bloodshed that had taken place, which he ascribed to the orders issued by Count Latour.

The student Rausch it was who had once before, previous to the shutting of the chief gate, come to the War Minister, and obtained from him a promise of the cessation of hostilities, on condition that he should pacify the people, which, however, he had failed to do.

When Rausch came a second time to the War Minister, the latter asked him what it was that he really wanted; on which Rausch demanded, in a somewhat softened tone, a written ministerial order for the cessation of hostilities, undertaking in return to guarantee the pacification of the people.

The assembled council of ministers retired into the adjacent room, and in a few minutes the ministers returned to the aide-de-camp's apartment, in which Rausch awaited their determination; when in great haste the following words, dictated by the War Minister himself, were written down, and ten or fifteen copies made:—"The firing is everywhere to cease."

These placards, written on half-sheets of paper, prepared by Count Latour, as well as by the minister Baron Wessenberg, and partly also by Baron Doblhoff, were distributed among those present; and the next thing was, to convey them to the knowledge of the revolted populace without endangering the safety of the War Office.

For this purpose, Rausch, accompanied by Major-General Frank, and several others of those present, went to the chancery chamber, on the first story, mounted the parapet of an open window, and endeavoured, climbing round the window-frame, to appease the enraged multitude in the square by reading aloud the written placards, and by the verbal assurance that all hostilities should cease. But his attempts were wholly fruitless: the crowd, who had meanwhile effected a considerable breach in the gate, uttered wild cries of, "The gate must be opened!" whilst other voices demanded that the military should leave the building; many, also, the resignation, and some the death of the War Minister.

The people from below threatened all who were standing at the window with their pikes and other weapons, and

pointed muskets at them ; whereupon they retired to the War Minister, and announced to him the failure of their attempt, and the threatening attitude of the populace.

A proposal made to the high-spirited count by some of the generals, to fight his way, under the protection of the grenadiers, to the glacis, or to the nearest barracks, was declined by him solely from the motive of not exposing the other ministers to open danger.

Arrangements were already made in the courtyard, where the bursting open of the gate was every instant expected, to discharge the cannon ; and the grenadiers had closed their ranks, ready for a sortie ; when, at 4 o'clock, just as fresh tidings came of the impossibility of treating with the people, the Minister of War took the fatal resolution to open the gate.

Doubtless he was influenced by the hope of pacifying the irritated minds of the people, and preventing further bloodshed, by a step evincing such manly confidence.

For this purpose he himself gave the order to General Von Frank, with these words, "Well then, open the gate, let the people in, and speak to them!"

At the same time he called out twice through the open window to the grenadiers in the courtyard, "Don't fire!" and at the same instant, on his second order, the cannon, which was standing in the courtyard ready to be fired, was drawn aside, and pointed away from the gate.

This step, prompted by such confidence, but so unexpected, operated on the behaviour and the subsequent conduct of the military only with a dispiriting and startling effect.

According to the statement of many eye-witnesses, a sudden feeling of dejection and discouragement seized on the grenadiers.

The consequence of this step was the more fatal, since the

shortness of the time did not allow of withdrawing the soldiers, who were dispersed through the passages, and taking up a concentrated position corresponding to the altered position of affairs.

To carry the order into effect, General Von Frank repaired into the courtyard, where in his presence the outer chief gate, leading to the Hofplatz, was opened; he then hastened to the War Minister, ordering the grenadiers in the courtyard to secure the foot of the staircase, and to let no one advance upon it.

The insurgents, however, instantly pressed through the opened gate, after dragging to the ground a grenadier who had opposed their passage, and carrying him off prisoner. At first they only entered in small numbers, looking cautiously about in the first court; but presently, encouraged by the immovable attitude of the grenadiers, the armed mob, many of them intoxicated, pressed onwards into the War Office, the lower rooms of which they gradually took entire possession of.

Confused, and not knowing what course to follow, in consequence of the pacificatory orders that had been issued, the troops that still remained offered no resistance.

Captain Baron Geusau, who, with Lieutenant Marossany and thirty-one grenadiers of the main guard of imperial infantry, was ordered to occupy the foot of the first staircase, quitted his post, contrary to the orders given him, soon after the opening of the gate, and led the grenadiers to the second story, in order thence to reach the passage conducting to the dwelling of the War Minister, and to defend this; he soon, however, returned, without any reason, and without executing his object, to the courtyard, remained there for about half an hour in a state of indecision, hemmed in by the masses of people, and lastly betook himself, without any purpose, and

heedless of what was passing in the War Office, back to the main guard in the square, with his troops, who were themselves indignant at such conduct.

On the other hand, the insurgents had meanwhile forced their way amongst the Deutschmeister Grenadiers, called on them with threats to surrender their arms and ammunition, and endeavoured, by offers of drink and all kinds of promises, to induce them to desert.

The Deutschmeister Grenadiers resolutely refused to give up their arms, and very few of them followed the National Guards into the neighbouring public-houses. Subsequently only two grenadiers went over to the *mobile* guard, and the fraternization proffered by the people to the military, enticingly and enthusiastically, was accepted by few.

All order was, however, soon lost among the troops amidst such influences, and without the display of any energy on the part of their leaders ; a perfect confusion ensued, and the troops as well as the officers were alike helpless.

The back staircase, in the direction of the bazaar, had been held for only a short time by the third division of Deutschmeister Grenadiers, when these troops were likewise pressed upon and broken, and the armed multitude now rushed unopposed up this staircase, as they had before rushed up the other stairs, into the upper apartments, where they began the work of destruction.

The forcible entrance of the people appeared to have deprived Captain Brandmayer of all presence of mind ; for, after having weakened his small force by sending one detachment to the main guard, to convey the wounded to the hospital, and ordered another portion of the grenadiers, without any object, to the first story, and thence again down into the courtyard, he and Lieutenant-Major Baron Grainger looked quietly on at the gradual dispersion of the troops.

Many of these grenadiers retired of their own accord to the barracks, a portion went back to the stables of the War Office, whilst the rest stood, singly or in groups, amongst the crowd in the large courtyard.

The occurrences which took place nearly at the same time in the upper story, of which we shall speak hereafter, prevented General Von Frank's adopting decisive measures against the disturbances in the courtyard.

Thence it happened, that Captain Brandmayer sent the order to his troops, in reply to the question, put through their serjeant, as to what was to be done, to go home singly and unnoticed, which order most of them obeyed; so that soon afterwards, at the time of the murder, about forty of the Deutschmeister Grenadiers were dispersed in the two courts among the people, whilst some of the Richter battalion of grenadiers, who in the morning had gone over to the people, were also in the crowd.

This apparent want of discipline, and indifference of the detachment of the guards to the fate of the minister, is however in some manner explained by the fact, that, according both to the information received from the domestics, and from other suppositions, the general belief prevailed, that the War Minister was already in safety, and no longer in the building.

This opinion was, indeed, purposely spread abroad by the generals, who had till then remained with Count Latour, at the time of their quitting the War Office, after the unhappy minister had declined their further assistance.

The ministers, who still remained together when the armed crowd poured into the building, being urged on many sides to consult their own safety, did not separate until they saw the building in possession of the people.

Baron Doblhoff and Hornbostl left the building first, and

singly, and the latter hastened to the Diet, to state the danger in which his colleague was.

The ministers Bach, Wessenberg, and Krauss, meanwhile, vainly endeavoured, and from two different sides, to reach the adjoining church, with the aid of the domestics; the keys of the doors could not be found, and they dared not break open the doors, as the noise would be sure to attract the people in the adjacent courtyard.

After this fruitless attempt at escape, the above-mentioned ministers succeeded singly, and partly in disguise, in escaping from the War Office.

Count Latour, after the dismissal of the generals, had gone to his sleeping-apartment, slipped on the undress coat of his aide-de-camp Captain Niewiadomsky, and hastily put on his valet's hat, in which disguise he went, accompanied by his aide-de-camp Lieutenant-Major Walz, Captain Count Gondrecourt, and Major Baron Smola, to the apartment of Captain Niewiadomsky, on the fourth story, whence they expected to be able to reach the loft of the adjoining church.

This hope was, however, frustrated; for the door leading from that dwelling to the church-loft was walled up, and it was not an easy matter to break through it.

After a further attempt to reach the loft of the War Office was abandoned, from a fear of betrayal by a lad who followed them stealthily, the War Minister was conducted to a hiding-place discovered by Major Baron Smola.

This consisted of a small, dark chamber, closed by a glass door, used for the heating of several chimneys, which was reached on the right from the main staircase, in front of the house, by two spacious chancery chambers.

Count Latour entered this small room, into which a chair was brought him, and the approach to the glass door was then

stopped by a writing-table, placed before it ; the precaution also was taken to strew writings on the floor in both chambers, in order to make the people believe that these places had already been searched.

Major Boxberg and Captain Gondrecourt remained on the landing near this hiding-place, to inform the minister of what passed in the building, and to guard him. Lieutenant-Major Walz and Captain Niewiadomsky went into the second and third stories, to observe what passed ; and the latter likewise into the dwelling of the minister ; but Major Baron Smola hastened to the general in command, Count Auersperg, on the glacis, to beg him to send immediate assistance in this imminent peril.

The passage was, however, so impeded by the barricades and crowds in various parts of the city, that they had to go a roundabout way to reach the troops who were drawn up on the glacis of the Josephstadt : and as the commanding officer had just then received one of the papers issued by the ministers, ordering the cessation of hostilities, this circumstance created a hesitation and delay in sending any imposing force to the hostile part of the city; so that the aid so urgently expected by the Minister of War did not arrive !

The insurgents, after gaining possession of the staircase, pressed onwards into the different chancery offices, and also into the minister's dwelling, crying out, " Latour must be hung !"

They burst open the locked doors, destroyed stoves, boxes, mirrors, and other furniture, especially every place or thing where it was imagined the minister might be concealed ; threw books, writings, and maps, out of the windows into the streets, tried to do the same with the furniture, in which the guards of the faubourgs were especially active, whose frantic conduct was even designated as robber-like by the com-

mander of the Legion, Aigner, who was riding past in the Seitzer Street.

Many began plundering, and there would doubtless have been a complete devastation of the building, had not other occurrences soon called off the mob from the work of destruction, and diverted their activity to a still greater object.

Several letters found in the study of the War Minister, which were read aloud to the crowd by the students who headed the mob, and interpreted in their sense, contributed not a little to heighten the bloodthirsty hostility of the people, expressed in loud insults and threats against their intended victim.

The uniforms found there were torn in pieces, and distributed to those present; many papers and letters were carried off in triumph to the Aula by the Academic Legionaries, who also appropriated the more valuable portion of the booty.

During this plundering, Major-General Von Frank, in consequence of a violent knocking at the door of the President's bureau, was going out into the passage, in undress, when he was stopped by the proletaires, and led off to the city arsenal as a hostage for the War Minister; but Major Schindler, of the engineer corps, who, to satisfy the urgent impatience of Count Latour for military assistance, hastened across the staircase in order to survey the square, was seized in the roughest manner by the insurgents in the courtyard, who demanded Latour, and he was dangerously wounded.

In the meanwhile a pressing demand was sent by the members present in the Diet to the President Strobach, at the War Office, to order the opening of a session, and on the news of the conflict at the War Office a deputation chosen by acclamation, and consisting of the deputies Goldmark,

Borrosch, and Prince Ljubomirsky, was despatched for the purpose of obtaining from the ministers a cessation of hostilities, and the dismissal of the military from the city.

This deputation, however, returned to the Diet, when they heard on their way that the fight was already ended.

When the minister Hornbostl afterwards appeared in the Diet, and in answer to questions put by the deputy Borrosch, whether the minister's life was threatened, expressed his serious apprehensions on the subject, a new deputation, chosen on his motion, supported by Borrosch, consisting of the latter, Dr. Goldmark, and the first Vice-president Smolka, was expressly sent to the War Office for the protection of the minister's life. This deputation was on its way voluntarily joined by the deputies Dr. Fischhof, Sierakowsky, Wienkowsky, and Zöpfl.

Proceeding to the War Office with white scarfs and a white flag, borne by Smolka, the deputies found the aide-de-camp Captain Niewiadomsky and the student Rausch, at the foot of the back staircase, in the midst of the raging populace, and hard pressed.

Rausch had been shortly before in the company of two National Guards, one of whom uttered curses and threats against Count Latour. He had entered the ante-chamber of the latter, and inquired in an urgent manner for the War Minister, to whom he demanded to be immediately conducted.

Captain Niewiadomsky, who observed a cocked musket in the hand of the guardsman, and heard at the same time the uproar of the multitude in the courtyard, suspected mischief, and endeavoured to divert the men from their demand of being led to the minister ; at the same time representing to them forcibly the unhappy consequences and disgrace that must follow the murder of the count and the destruction of the building.

He succeeded in appeasing their rage, especially that of the student, and he made a kind of agreement with Rausch, that, with a view to pacify the people, the War Office should be occupied by National Guards and Academicians, and cleared of the military.

When Captain Niewiadomsky had obtained the verbal assent to this from the War Minister, who was hidden in the closet described above, he returned to the student, who was awaiting him in the second story, and they both went down stairs into the courtyard, where Rausch communicated this arrangement to those around.

The latter appeared to be content; but others, instigated by well-dressed people, who were busily gliding among the crowd, cried out, "We are ourselves National Guards, and will occupy the building."

The aide-de-camp and Rausch were instantly surrounded by the people, dragged roughly about, and the latter was called a traitor; but Niewiadomsky, on declaring to the crowd, who demanded with outcries, some the resignation, and others the death of Latour, that the count was no longer in the building, was declared to be a liar, by reason of the paper which had been issued by the War Minister, and distributed shortly before.

When at length the captain, in answer to the question, where the minister was? put to him with a crowbar at his breast, announced himself as the aide-de-camp of the War Minister, he was still more harshly pressed, insulted, and was not set free until the arrival of the deputies from the Diet.

One of the most cold-blooded of the insurgents, who called on the people incessantly not to let themselves be deceived and not to give way, was, according to a document lying before us, the ex-lieutenant Carl Unterschill, now a

fugitive, who at an earlier period—not without his own fault—had resigned his commission and left the army.

This man rushed into the War Office, at the head of the murderous rabble, calling out amidst the cries of his followers, "Down with him!"—and turning to the mob, "Quiet! the first blow is mine—I was an officer myself—he tyrannized over me!"

The deputy Borrosch, who had accompanied the deputies up to the first steps of the staircase, addressed the people in a fiery speech, as well as afterwards in the courtyard, in which he warned them urgently not to disgrace their glorious revolution with a criminal act, not to be judges where they were the accusers, and, adding the assurance that the events of that day would be strictly investigated, and the ministers be called to an account. His address was interrupted, however, by some cries of death directed against the War Minister, and in the excitement of the moment, he threw his hat among the crowd, exclaiming in great agitation, that they should sooner make him their victim; for however opposed he was to the War Minister, yet the path to the latter should lie over his (Borrosch's) dead body.

At the same time the deputy Dr. Goldmark, who was standing close to the speaker, went up to one of the armed groups in the courtyard, in which also the inspector of the building was standing.

On his asking whom they were seeking, the mob answered, "The Minister of War;" and when the inspector assured them that the count was no longer in the building, the deputy Dr. Goldmark, who had been chosen by the Diet for the protection of the minister's life, hastily replied, addressing the crowd, "Don't believe him; he [Count Latour] is still there!"

On the staircase, meanwhile, the words of the deputy Bor-

rosch were interrupted by the repeated cry, "All very fine; but Latour must be hung!" whilst, on the contrary, they were not without effect on the multitude gathered in the courtyard; for a great part of them joined Borrosch, who rode off toward the Stephensplatz, hoping to appease the excitement by his departure, and left the War Office with him.

Deceived by the appearance of a lull of the disturbances, although of short duration, in the building, the wife of the coachman, Josepha Dudek, who had kept her room from affright, stepped out into the passage before her dwelling, and found it guarded by two students, in the uniform of the Academic Legion, who, with crossed bayonets, held the staircase of the back passage.

In reply to her anxious question, what was going on, one of the guards answered, "Nothing, but that Latour must be hung!" and when the woman started, in horror, the student added, in a cold-blooded manner, "He [Latour] has been sentenced by the Diet and the Aula."

Fresh swarms meanwhile crowded into the courtyard from the square, and the student Rausch, on the other side, coming down the back stairs, encouraged those in the court to follow him, exclaiming, "Gentlemen, Latour is there;" whereupon they all crowded after him upstairs, exclaiming, "We must have him!"

The rest of the deputies, negotiating with the crowds who awaited them, were obliged to retreat to the second story, where they continued urgently to represent to the people that Count Latour, if guilty, would assuredly be judged, and must resign.

Hastily seizing this word "resign," many of the crowd demanded of the Vice-president Smolka to effect the resignation of Latour; whilst others, not content with this, insisted on the minister's death.

Smolka now went, accompanied only by Captain Niewiadomsky, and dismissing the deputies Dr. Fischhof and Sierakowsky, to the upper story.

Of the other members of the deputation, Zöpfl returned, immediately after Borrosch, to the Diet; Wienkowsky, on the contrary, according to his own statement, on account of a speech urging the people to protect the minister, was carried off by the enraged mob into the neighbouring Seitzer, or Bazaar-court, and then threatened with death.

Goldmark, after these occurrences in the courtyard, had hastened back to the passage on the first story, where he endeavoured to protect from insult and outrage two Italian standards, which had been taken by the people out of the Council-hall.

Captain Niewiadomsky, who shortly before had been again assailed by armed workmen, headed by the student Rausch, in their search for the retreat of the count, led the crowd to a closed oratory leading from the minister's dwelling into the upper part of the church, under the pretext that the Minister of War had fled thither.

He then led Dr. Smolka, who bore the white flag, to the fourth story, and met there, in the passage near the count's hiding-place, Major Baron Boxberg, who meanwhile had announced to the War Minister the arrival of the deputation from the Diet, which he had observed from the window, and which had filled him with new hope of a peaceable termination of affairs.

After Niewiadomsky and Smolka had declared to the major that, in their opinion, there was no other means of safety to the Minister of War than the act of his resignation, Major Boxberg went to the hiding-place of the count, whilst Niewiadomsky led Dr. Smolka in the opposite direction, on the left, to a chancery-chamber commanding a view into the

square, which was about fifty paces distant from the retreat of the minister, and from thence through two other rooms, the staircase-hall, a passage, and several doors.

Count Latour soon after entered the large chancery-hall, accompanied by Major Boxberg, who had just communicated to him the proposal for his resignation : here Smolka awaited him, when the count declared with resolution, that he feared just as little the daggers of the murderers as he had done the balls in so many battles ; but that, in order to restore peace, he was ready, according to the wishes of the people, with the assent of his majesty, to give in his resignation ; whereupon Smolka gave him the solemn assurance, that he and the other deputies of the Diet would answer for his safety with honour and life.

When Count Latour put the question to Smolka, whether it was necessary to announce his resignation in writing, the latter replied in the affirmative ; and the minister wrote with his own hand on a sheet of paper these words : " With the approval of his majesty, I resign my office as Minister of War."

Smolka took this paper, signed by the minister, and left him, after having vainly endeavoured to persuade the count to omit the reservation " with the approval of his majesty," fearing that this might give rise to difficulties in dealing with the excited crowds.

With the firm confidence of having now fulfilled the will of the people, and trusting to the promised protection of the deputies, the War Minister believed that all further danger was now removed, and deemed his longer stay in the dark closet unnecessary.

When, however, in a few minutes the uproar of the unsatisfied multitude resounded through the passages, he followed, by the advice of Major Boxberg, the latter back into

the place of concealment; whereupon the major again pushed the writing-table before the door of the apartment, and went out into the passage.

Vice-president Smolka, holding up the paper he had received, called aloud to the masses of people who had already entered the third story, that the War Minister had resigned, adding (as Fischhof states), in order fully to quiet them: "The Chamber will impeach him."

Several among the crowd appeared to be satisfied, but others doubted the resignation, and required the paper to be read out to them.

Hardly did they hear that the act was made dependent on the approval of his majesty, when the storm burst out anew, and cries arose: "The emperor will never give his assent to the resignation; we must do ourselves right, and arrest the War Minister."

Other voices exclaimed, "The scoundrel is there—hang him! hang him!"

It was in fact evident, from the sand freshly-sprinkled upon the writing, that the count was in the building.

The raging multitude now attacked the mediator, calling on him to discover the retreat of the count, some voices demanding his arrest, and others, with tumultuous cries, his death.

Smolka declared that he would conduct them to the War Minister only on condition that a sufficient number of them solemnly engaged to protect him.

At Fischhof's demand, twenty to twenty-five armed National Guards and workmen from the crowd now stepped forward, and under the leadership of Rausch, took an oath with their upraised fingers, by their honour, and with their lives, to protect that of the War Minister; whereupon

Fischhof gave them the renewed assurance that Count Latour would be arraigned before an open court.

How a part of these guards kept their oaths at the critical moment will be seen hereafter.

Meanwhile Captain Niewiadomsky, who was guarded by two workmen armed with pikes, and who, it was hoped, would discover the hiding-place of the minister, contrived to escape by a side staircase, and, not trusting to the oath just taken by the guards, hastened down to seek help.

In the passage between the two courtyards, he met Captain Brandmayer, of the grenadiers, to whom he announced himself in his undress as the aide-de-camp of the War Minister, and whom he conjured, in the most sacred manner, to send up some troops to save the life of the minister, which was in such imminent peril.

Brandmayer, whose men were dispersed in the greatest disorder, shrugged his shoulders in an undecided manner.

Without waiting longer in the building, after this abortive attempt, the aide-de-camp hastened immediately to the Diet, to procure, if possible, assistance.

But he had hardly arrived there, and was just calling upon the president Strobach for aid, when the tidings reached him of the frightful crime which had meanwhile been perpetrated in the War Office.

On Smolka's suggestion that some of the appointed guard should accompany him upstairs to protect the count, three persons stepped forward from the crowd,—a National Guardsman, a youthful-looking Academician sword in hand, and the gardener of Oberdöhling, Michael Neumayer, armed with a pioneer's sabre.

With these persons, Smolka, Fischhof, and Sierakowsky, leaving behind the rest of the guards, who had sworn to

protect the count, together with their leader Rausch, on the staircase between the third and fourth stories, in order to keep back the people, proceeded through the long passage in the fourth story to the chamber where the resignation of the minister had been signed, and where he was still expected to be hidden.

They however found the chamber locked, and after vainly seeking the count in the adjacent ante-rooms, they at last met Major Boxberg in the passage, who, like all the other officers that had remained with the War Minister after the entrance of the insurgents, was in undress.

Vice-president Smolka begged him to lead them to the count, declaring that the people were not satisfied with the resignation, and threatened to search and break open every secret hole and corner.

Smolka further represented to the major that it was better to take the count prisoner, than to give him up to certain death, if he should be found by the people; adding the assurance, that a special guard had sworn to protect the minister's life.

They, the deputies of the Diet, who had guaranteed the count's safety, could only answer for his life, in case he allowed himself to be guarded by them.

Although at first startled by these representations, the major nevertheless hastened, as evidently not an instant was to be lost, without making any reply, to the place of concealment, in order to acquaint the count with what he had heard.

The deputies, however, with their two companions, the young Academician and the gardener Neumayer, followed him; and when the War Minister, after the table was removed, stepped out of the chamber, Smolka repeated to him the urgent necessity of his allowing himself to be guarded by the people, at the same time assuring him that

he and the other deputies would protect him with their own lives.

Count Latour seemed inclined to accede to this proposal, and only observed, that he might quite as well be watched in the aide-de-camp's apartment of Baron Boxberg, as in that dark hiding-place ; to this the deputies readily assented, and again assured the minister that he had no longer anything to fear.

Whilst those present were crossing the passage, and through some of the chambers to the aide-de-camp's room near the well-staircase, Fischhof sent Sierakowsky to the people on the staircase, whose outcries kept drawing nearer, with a view to pacify them by announcing the War Minister's arrest.

But when the other attendants of the count approached the aide-de-camp's room, some of the foremost of the insurgents appeared in the passage ; whereupon the minister, by the advice of Major Boxberg, stepped through the next door on to a small landing, whilst Fischhof hastened to meet the tumultuous crowd.

Meanwhile, however, the pretended guards on the chief staircase, between the third and fourth stories, who were left behind to keep back the crowd, partly themselves cherishing the worst intentions, fully mistrustful of the removal of the deputies, and goaded on by the impatient mob, who feared to lose their victim, went to seek the count, and to prevent his escape.

The student Rausch therefore left the main staircase with three of the National Guards, among them Carl Brambosch (who was afterwards convicted), and went higher upstairs, searching the passages of the fourth story, where they inquired of the Invalid placed there for the War Minister, broke open the door of a chancery-chamber with the butt-ends of their muskets, and hunted over the whole place.

After relinquishing further search, from ignorance of the locality, they returned to the expectant multitude, and were received by them with reproaches, insult, and threats. They were called black-yellow dogs, who had secreted the War Minister, and who must be kept as hostages for him.

The mass of people now rolled onward into the fourth story, pressed into the passage, and uttering wild cries of "Where is Latour?" rushed to the back door, before which two armed attendants of the deputies, an Academician, and the gardener Neumayer, were drawn up, and beside them Smolka and Major Boxberg.

Smolka made only feeble attempts to keep back the increasing multitude, who were inflamed with rage and exciting drink; and when the cry arose that Latour must come forth, the two armed guards declared that it was impossible to make a longer stand, and proposed to lead the count to a place of safety, whereupon there was a cry from several sides, "To the Arsenal! To the Arsenal!"

At this moment the War Minister himself came out of the door of the passage, and addressed the following words to the infuriated mob:—"My dear children, I am here. I have not feared balls and bayonets, nor dreaded any daggers, for I am a man of honour, and have a good conscience. You have offered yourselves to watch me; do so. I surrender myself fearlessly into your hands. I will place myself under your guard."

This address was answered with a general cry from the savage multitude, "Strike him, hit him! he is the cause that so many have fallen to-day!"

A circle was formed around the count, consisting chiefly of the above-mentioned guards, under the student Rausch: Fischhof took him by the arm on one side, and a National Guard on the other; Smolka, Major Boxberg, and Neumayer,

followed, and thus the mass moved onward, amidst the tumultuous cry of "Down with him!" to the next, so-called, well staircase.

Before reaching this, Major Baron Boxberg was forcibly separated from the minister's side by the pressing multitude.

Hastening through the passage, he now sought to reach the chief staircase, and if possible to summon military help in the courtyard, whither also Lieutenant-Major Walz and Captain Count Gondrecourt had already hastened down.

The two latter met in the passage between the courts; Lieutenant-Major Baron Grainger told him in a few words the peril of the War Minister, and were conducted by him to Captain Brandmayer, in the small courtyard, who just then stepped out of the house-inspector's dwelling.

Upon their urgently entreating him to collect his men, many of whom were standing about in the two courtyards, to afford instant help to the War Minister, and at least to attempt to save him, representing that his honour and that of his company was at stake, Captain Brandmayer consulted with his lieutenant-major and the serjeant, and then declared, shrugging his shoulders, as Captain Niewiadomsky had done before, that it was impossible to save the minister,—their force was too weak!

Lieutenant-Major Walz then turned to some of the grenadiers standing near, but his entreaties and representations all proved fruitless.

Captain Baron Von Geusau, at that time on the main guard, where his men, with arms in their hands, stood at the bar in front of the guard-room, appears, indeed, on hearing the cry, "We have got him!" to have made an attempt to force his way through the gate of the square into the courtyard, but was prevented by the dense crowds.

Whilst the War Minister was being led down, and already

in the upper rooms of the building, the threats to hang him began to be increasingly loud and general.

Beside the gardener Neumayer, the student of medicine (now a fugitive) J. Wedel, a member of the Academic Legion and of the Students' Committee, made himself prominent by loud insults and threats against the count.

Inflamed with thirst for murder, Wedel struck with his sword-hilt at one of the guards, who was protecting the minister with upraised musket.

On reaching the lower stories, the defenders of the count were one by one forcibly pushed away from his side; one in particular of those who endeavoured to take their places was Neumayer, who led the helpless count further down, whilst the crowd following him, furnished with muskets, pikes, and all kinds of weapons, consisting of National Guards, several students, but chiefly of workmen, insulted the War Minister, who was given up to the rage of the populace, with the lowest expressions, and with shouts, demanded his death. Their brutality went so far, that they forced the hat of the grey-headed old general quite on to his face in the most savage manner.

From the passage at the foot of the staircase, Count Latour went into the larger courtyard, followed by the crowd, but as yet without any visible wound.

Meanwhile the cry resounded on all sides in the courtyard, "They are bringing him!" and a crowd of people collected, mostly armed, rapidly increasing in numbers, which met the count as he came out.

Scarcely had this crowd perceived the War Minister, when immediately a savage shout broke forth, of "Murder him,—hang him!" All rushed upon the unhappy count and his attendants, who were pressed together, partly separated, and pushed against the walls, on the left of the exit

from the passage, where the multitude stood closely packed together in a confused mass.

Here several of the murderers pulled out of their pockets, evidently prepared beforehand, thin cords, called *rebschnüre*, a ball of which was flung in the face of the conductor of the count.

This is partly explained by the circumstance, that previously, during the searching of the house, a similar cord had been exhibited by an ill-dressed man, who added, "This is for Latour;" as well as by the fact that, some time before the murder, a National Guardsman of the suburbs in the town arsenal, who was not discovered, had cut off a piece of cord, on hearing the same cry, and hastened with it to the War Office.

In the pressure against the War Minister, the brutal and murderous mob first knocked off his hat; a workman struck him several blows in the face, over the heads of the persons in front, with a cord several times doubled, exclaiming, "With that you will be hung!"

Another workman struck him several times in the face with his hand, and a National Guardsman of the suburbs seized the grey-headed count by his hair, and shook him so violently, that he staggered, and with difficulty held himself up by catching the hand of an unknown private individual, who pressed forward to protect him.

Several of those about the War Minister in vain endeavoured, by representations, entreaties, and efforts, to save him; they were pushed about in the crowd, flung back by the threatening and murderous horde from the victim, who was now abandoned to the rage of the populace, and by degrees entirely separated from him.

Dr. Fischhof asserts, that he averted with his uplifted arm the blow of a hammer aimed at the count's head, when he was himself torn from the minister's side.

Smolka declares that, in his endeavours to save the War Minister, he received a blow from the butt-end of a musket, which smashed his watch,—that in the tumult his scarf and flag were torn from him, and he was pushed away from the count's side, just as he had called out to Sierakowsky to pacify the people with his powerful voice.

Sierakowsky affirms, that, on Smolka's summons, and with the white flag which the latter handed to him, he flung himself into the raging crowd which was pressing upon the minister, but was forced back into the middle of the court-yard by unknown persons, with the exclamation, "If you are an honest man, have nothing to do with a scoundrel!"

Numerous eye-witnesses, principally belonging to the lower classes, mention, without any more precise statement, three or four civilians, some National Guards, and several witnesses, also two or three students, who for some time endeavoured to keep off the pressure from the minister, and to save him.

It is, however, certain, that Captain Count Gondrecourt, who, after his fruitless attempt with Captain Brandmayer, had again forced his way to the count's side, in order to protect him, pushed him against the wall, placed himself with his body before the minister, and to the last minute literally covered him in this manner, until he was himself seized by the neck by a National Guardsman, and forced away amidst the most frightful threats.

The first visible wounds inflicted on the unhappy count were followed in the courtyard by a stroke with a pioneer's sabre on the head, and this blow was the signal for a murderous scene, which in barbarity has scarcely a parallel in modern history, and is certainly unsurpassed by any.

It is impossible to describe accurately the wounds which followed this sabre-stroke, the depositions of the witnesses

and actors not altogether agreeing in this respect; a fact which is easily explained by the rapidity with which the attacks followed one another, many simultaneous wounds, and by the tumultuous perpetration of the murder.

Nearly at the same instant, the innocent victim of popular rage received a blow with an iron bar on his head, a stroke with a hammer on the same part, a thrust with an iron pike, and a bayonet-wound, the two latter in the stomach; on which the minister sank to the earth, whilst on all sides he was beaten, thrust at, wounded, with the butt-ends of muskets, sabres, pikes, iron bars, bayonets, clubs, even with a scythe, just as the clock in the War Office had struck a quarter to four.

The savage, inhuman multitude pressed on the minister, as he lay upon the ground, mortally wounded, jumped on the mangled body, and trod upon him with their feet; when the count still gave signs of life, snatching convulsively with his right hand at a bayonet, with which he was wounded in the flank, to ward it off from him.

The body, covered with blood, was then dragged by the feet across part of the courtyard, with the head beating against the pavement, amidst the hideous shouts of joy from the raging mob, and the cry of "Hang him!" He was then dragged back to the wall by the passage, and pulled up to the bars of the middle window in the court, with one of the cords, which were eagerly offered by several persons present.

Two civic sharpshooters endeavoured at the same time to raise the body with their bayonets, supported by others, to the wall.

The cord, however, which was not strong enough for this weight, snapped in two, and the count fell to the ground; whereupon a white leather strap was brought, hung round his neck, and to this was fastened the cord; and in this

manner his body was dragged to another window, in the front corner of the courtyard, his head continually striking against the stone pavement.

After the body fell from the window-bars, the dying man had still a rattling in the throat whilst on the ground, and even at the commencement of his being dragged to the corner window, drew a deep breath.

Many of the maddened crowd endeavoured even to press forward after this horrible act, in order to heap ill-treatment on the dead body.

Even women were seen jumping on the body, screaming, stamping on him with their feet, and triumphantly exclaiming, "Dog, you are done for now!"

Amid such barbarous scenes the dead body was dragged by the feet through the arched gate leading to the square, whilst the clothes were pulled off piecemeal, and the murderers fought for the shreds.

Upon several of the National Guards forcing their way in from the square, the cry suddenly arose, "Here come the grenadiers!" whereupon in an instant the cowardly mob fled in affright, leaving behind the dead body under the gateway, to the back-door; but presently, emboldened again by the cry that it was only a false alarm, they returned to their work of horror, dragged the body to the lamp-post, into the square in front of the War Office, fetched a ladder from a neighbouring house, and hung it by another white leather strap, with a cord attached to it, to the colossal cast-iron lamp-post.

The corpse was now instantly stripped naked, the very body-linen being torn off in pieces, and with every possible atrocity, ill-treated, insulted, mutilated, and finally used as a target by several of the National Guards, in firing off their muskets.

Some persons who expressed compassion and horror at these revolting proceedings were insulted and ill-treated by the populace, and put in peril of their lives.

It was not till a later hour at night, that any one had the courage to cover the mutilated and naked body with a linen cloth.

After midnight it was taken down by one of the National Guards of Penzing, assisted by other guards, and carried to the military hospital, from a feeling of humanity, in spite of the remonstrances of one of the Academic Legion, who demanded that the body should be left to hang longer on the lamp-post, as an example.

Whilst the murderers, still dripping with blood, immediately after the deed ran to the Aula with wild cries of joy, to get their blood-money, and there formed triumphant processions; many people of both sexes also collected in the courtyard of the War Office, around the pool of blood in front of the second grated window, and dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood, taking it up in their hands, and bedaubing their clothes and weapons with it.

In many parts of the city and the suburbs, the effects, remnants of clothes—nay, even portions torn from the body of the victim—were publicly exposed to view, in a boastful manner, distributed, and even formally bought and sold.

The physicians called in at the examination of the body before the court, declare in their verdict, that the War Minister, Count Latour, was tortured to death in the strictest sense of the word.

Beside small extravasations of blood, abrasions, and lacerated wounds, forty-three incised wounds were pointed out in the body, partly effected by strokes, partly by thrusts, and partly by shot-wounds.

Of these wounds thirty-one (namely, ten on the head, one

on the neck, four on the breast, seven on the belly, and nine on the upper and under limbs) presented distinct signs of the reaction of life; and consequently these were inflicted upon the unhappy victim of blind popular fury whilst still alive.

Of these thirty-one wounds, according to the degrees of their dangerous character, five were, in the opinion of the scientific men, of a serious nature, five dangerous, and one fatal.

On the right side of the head especially, the parietal, temporal, and frontal bones were shattered into many pieces; and although this shattering of the skull was undoubtedly of a fatal character, yet death did not instantly ensue, and in fact the wounded man continued to live, although in a state of departing consciousness, even when the attempt was made to strangle him on the window-bars in the courtyard, and even at the instant when the cord broke and the body fell to the ground.

The exact moment of death, which followed this attempt at strangulation, cannot precisely be ascertained.

The smashing of the skull, however, was very probably the fatal wound, of which the War Minister afterwards died; but the attempt at strangulation might, as well as the numerous other acts of ill-treatment and torture, have accelerated death, as the dangerous wounds in themselves, especially under mutual influences, and in connection with the serious and light wounds, must have increased the danger of death to the highest degree.

In conclusion, it was remarked that the fury of the populace, not content with having killed their unhappy victim with inhuman barbarity, consummated the atrocity of the act by hewing in pieces the mangled limbs, to satisfy the lust for vengeance of the mad populace.

SECOND SECTION.

DIRECT AGENTS CONVICTED OF THE CRIME.

Amongst the ninety-nine persons arrested and subjected to examination by the military court on suspicion of having taken an active part in this murder, eleven were declared guilty, and sentenced.

The grounds of accusation, arising partly out of their own confessions, and partly from other statements, are extracted and given here in a compressed form. Among the most prominent of these persons is :—

1. *Franz Wangler*, a native of Tyss, in the Ellbogen Circle in Bohemia ; forty-six years of age, a Catholic, widower, without children, cohabiting with a girl of loose character ; of late a journeyman smith on the Vienna-Gloggnitz Railroad, formerly a journeyman and stable-lad ; known also by the nicknames of " Fiakerschmied," and " Fiakerfranz ;" has been twice before punished for the crime of stealing ; is described as being an industrious workman, but rough, quarrelsome, very much given to drink, eccentric, and taking part in every *émeute*.

After a long and obstinate denial, he made a confession, of which the following is the substance, before the court, and repeated it on different examinations.

As early as the 13th of March, 1848, the students at Vienna entered into an alliance with the workmen of the Southern Railroad, and frequently visited them at their work.

They told them to prepare pikes, ostensibly only for the

protection of the railroad; and since that time these workmen were summoned by the Academicians on occasion of every tumult and *émeute* in the city, for the defence of liberty.

On such occasions, other Academic Legionists appeared at every instant at the railway-station, and raised there an alarm, when the whole swarm of armed workmen were obliged to follow them, and do what they required.

If any one of the workmen refused to join them, he was compelled to do so by the rest.

On the 6th of October, 1848, in the forenoon, two students appeared with a summons to the railway-workmen, to go armed to the University-square, at the same time addressing speeches to the men, which Wangler did not hear.

As no one would leave work before noon, two students (unknown to witness) again came to the railway-station, between twelve and one o'clock, with a fresh urgent summons; the whole crowd of armed workmen, and among them Wangler, with his pointed iron pike, followed them to the city, to the University-square.

Numbers of papers, printed with Roman letters, were here distributed among them, the contents of which Wangler did not understand, but which he heard called Liberty-tickets (*Freiheitszettel*); these, by the order of the students, they affixed to their caps.

After this preparation, the cry suddenly arose among the workmen, "Latour must be hung!" and upon the mention of the minister Bach, and the name of a lady of high rank, with a similar view, the whole crowd proceeded from the Aula toward the Hofplatz, with the cry, "To the War Office!"

The armed crowd stood in front of the War Office until

the gate, which had been kept locked, was opened, through which they poured into the courtyard.

When, at the sight of the War Minister being dragged down the staircase, a general cry arose in the courtyard, that he must be hung, the witness likewise forced his way through the crowd, and gave the count a thrust in the upper part of his body with his pike, at a time when the War Minister was still standing upright, and before he received the blow of the hammer from a smith, which simultaneously with many other blows felled him to the ground.

It is worthy of note, that Wangler, when shaken during the examination by a powerful emotion, and led to make a confession, mentioned in the first moment of the struggle in his mind a blow, which he had inflicted on the count with his iron pole.

But hardly had this admission escaped his lips, when, correcting himself, he endeavoured to maintain that he had merely, as he believed, wounded the count on the shoulder with a thrust, in which assertion he adhered until his conviction.

The inspection by the court of one of these iron poles of the Gloggnitz Railway workmen, after Wangler's first examination, and its consequent conviction that the force of a blow inflicted with such a weapon must at least have equalled the blow of a hammer, together with many other circumstances arising out of the case, too long to enumerate here, raised even then a well-founded presumption, that it was this blow that shattered the minister's skull.

Some of the eye-witnesses of the deed mention a young, small, thick-set workman; and others, an elderly, tall smith, with bristly hair and a sooty face, the first of whom gave the count a blow on the head with his not very

heavy hammer; moreover, several witnesses, especially Dr. Fischhof, who was standing close by, and as a medical man understood the matter, were of opinion that this blow could not have been fatal.

On the contrary, the blow given by the smith, who was described as corresponding in personal appearance to Wangler, was, according to some witnesses, also inflicted on the head of the War Minister, with a hammer; according to others, with an iron pole; and with such force, that several of the witnesses could not for a long time dismiss the recollection of the fearful sound which it caused.

An observer of the horrible scene, who was standing behind the fastened window of one of the rooms in the court, on the first story, heard with perfect distinctness the fatal blow.

There is no doubt that the fellow with the hammer, as well as the older smith, had a hand in the crime, but that the decisive blow was first given by the latter; and the opinion, that Wangler was this identical smith, received incontestable support, from the deposition of a fresh eye-witness, who did not come forward until after Wangler's execution, and from the personal description given by him of the chief actor in the scene.

According to the confession of Wangler, given not without reserve, when the War Minister was dragged to the lamp-post in the square, and the mob there demanded that he should be hung, he, the accused, pulled off his jacket, which he gave to Rosina Lang, a girl standing close by; he then lifted up the body from beneath, from which the clothes were pulled off in rags, and thus with the help of two other workmen, who were unknown to him, and one of whom was standing on the ladder, acted the part of hangman.

After finishing this task, he states that he put on his

jacket, pulling down his shirt-sleeves, and, as he himself expressly confesses, addressed the following horrifying speech to the large multitude :—"So then we have done, and now let's go and fetch the minister Bach, and he shall come there" (Wangler pointed to the second arm of the lamp-post, and called on the people three times, with upraised arms, to tell him where the minister Bach dwelt); "and there" (pointing to the third arm of the lamp-post) "comes the * * * *." (The accused here mentioned the name of the same high-born lady, whose death had been demanded in the Aula.)

Thereupon, the accused said, that he hastened with the swarm of murderers to the University-square, where he placed his pike by the water-basin there, and on this occasion heard other workmen coming from the University say that they had been paid in the Aula for their share in the murder, and that they were going to a public-house, to refresh themselves with the money they had received.

He moreover asserted, that he had himself neither received nor asked for any money, but that he likewise went from the Aula to a neighbouring public-house, and from thence home.

On being questioned as to his reasons for what he had done, he, in the outburst of despair, and in the presentiment of the punishment that awaited him, cursed the students, who had seduced him and his comrades, and (as he expressed himself) had completely blinded them; exclaiming, that, had it not been for the instigation of the Academicians, it would never have come into his head even to think of the War Minister, who was a perfect stranger to him, much less to do him any harm.

2. The second actor in the scene, *Carl Brambosch*, was a native of Vienna, in Austria, twenty-two years of age, a

Catholic, unmarried; a journeyman goldsmith and a house-painter. When the authorities were on his track, shortly before his arrest, he enrolled himself in the Hoch and Deutschmeister I. R. infantry regiment as a private.

In his sixteenth year he had undergone a preliminary examination in the Vienna Criminal Court, on the charge of having attempted the murder and robbery of a woman; but he was soon released, on the removal of the suspicion.

His companions describe him as light-headed, idle, cunning, and eccentric on political subjects: he is said to have frequently visited the Aula—the source at that time of the corruption of the workmen, and the seduction of the credulous citizens.

The abridged contents of his confessions state the facts, that he, as a National Guard of the Eighth Mariahilf suburban district, went, on the 6th of October, 1848, about two o'clock P.M., with a portion of the fifth company, on the alarm being given, into the city, to the bastion of the Salzgries barracks, in order to cover the artillery; and that from thence, at a little past three o'clock, he went, at the invitation of, and in company with, the glovemaker's assistant and Guardsman Michael Wilhelm, into the city, to buy tobacco; where, following the stream of people, he proceeded into the neighbourhood of the War Office, where he met with Wilhelm in the Bazaar-court.

Just then a man was, from the window of the first story, addressing the large crowd collected in the courtyard, consisting of all classes, but chiefly of workmen armed with pikes. Brambosch heard only the conclusion of this speech, the purport of which was a summons to proceed to the War Office, and to bring Count Latour to account before a general tribunal of the people, for his order to despatch the German troops from Vienna.

Incited by this speech against the War Minister, the whole mass of people, and among the rest Brambosch and Wilhelm, both armed with muskets and bayonets, streamed forth, uttering a cry of, "To the War Office!" in order to seek the count.

After first penetrating into his dwelling-room, and searching every corner where it was thought he might be concealed, even to the very book-chests, they went to the corridor on the staircase, where some voices among the crowd were already demanding the death of the count.

Three deputies here in vain attempted to keep back the raging multitude, who were calling out for the War Minister, assuring them that he was no longer in the building. The people obstinately demanded him, and his death; whereupon, the deputies promised to give the count up to the people, upon the condition that no harm should be done to him, and that he should be led to the Diet.

Brambosch and Wilhelm were among those twenty guards whom Fischhof had called out and made to swear to protect the life of the War Minister, when Fischhof gave them the assurance, as Brambosch asserts, that Count Latour should be brought before an open court.

Brambosch was also one of those three guards, who, afterwards, with the student Rausch, at the instigation of the crowd on the stairs between the third and fourth stories, which had grown mistrustful of the deputies of the Diet, sought for the War Minister, and who, with this object, proceeded from the stairs to the passages on the fourth story.

On their return to the other insurgents without success, they were received by the latter with insults and reproaches.

According to Brambosch's statement, Wilhelm behaved in this instance with especial fury; so much so, as to point his bayonet at accused's breast, calling him a dog, who secreted

Latour, and was bribed by him; abusing him, and adding, that Latour must come out, for he was a bad man, who deceived the people, and who must now die.

In this way, and beset by the rest with threats, Brambosch says that he himself was worked into a fury against the count; and that when he, together with the sworn guard of protection, led the latter down into the courtyard, and the cry arose there at the sight of the War Minister, of "Hang him!—kill him!" the accused also inflicted on him several blows with the butt-end of his musket, at the moment when the victim, with his face covered with blood, struck by an iron pole or a hammer on the head, and by a pike in the face, sank to the ground.

Brambosch likewise saw the body drawn up to the window-grating, snatched a narrow strip of linen and a piece of black cloth from one of the people under the gateway of the War Office, where the mob were scrambling for the torn clothes of the murdered man, and then returned to the bastion to the other guards, where he displayed and distributed the pieces.

He accuses Wilhelm of having, by his instigations, been the sole cause of his misfortunes; adding, that he must accuse him of this in court.

During the tumult in the courtyard, he says that he lost sight of Wilhelm, and met him first again on the bastion, where Wilhelm tried to take him to the arsenal.

The accused, however, would not that day have anything more to do with the affair, having already had enough.

Brambosch also states that, on the 8th of October, two days after the murder, he himself heard, in a saloon on the first story of the Aula, a student say, who was addressing the people and inciting them to take up arms and be courageous, that on the previous day a smith of the railroad,

who had struck Count Latour the blow with a hammer, and whose name the student mentioned, appeared at the Aula to demand his reward; but that nothing could be given him, as there was no money left.

Accused further stated, that he had taken part in the latest October insurrection, in so far as being enrolled as a man of trust in his company, the *Select Corps*, he had joined in the conflict against the imperial troops in the Brigittenau on the 22nd and 23rd of October, but on the 28th of October had drawn several peaceable National Guards of the faubourgs from their homes, by threats, to the defence of the small lines at Mariahilf.

Bursting into tears, he bewailed his having brought so much grief on his mother, a Frenchwoman, and the wife of a camp-baker, who, according to his statement, had received the cross of the Legion of Honour in the Russian campaign, for having saved Napoleon; and he envied the fate of his eleven brothers, who had all fallen with arms in their hands in the French service, whilst an ignominious death awaited him the last!

3. *Thomas Jurkovich*, the third accomplice, was born at Peruchich, in the circle of the Ottochan second Frontier infantry regiment; thirty-six years of age, a Catholic, unmarried, habitually cohabiting with different servant-girls, the father of two young children; authorized cravat-maker on the Wieden: he had never before been punished.

He is described as habitually careless, rude, niggardly, quarrelsome, and at the same time close; addicted to drink, especially when he could obtain it at the cost of others, and passionately given to democratic ideas.

In his possession was found a collection of seditious papers, as was the case with most of the accused.

When a journeyman, he used, on the slightest occasion, to

threaten his comrades with his scissors or flat-iron, and from his impetuous and violent behaviour, it was at that time predicted that he would come to the gallows.

His confession, made after many examinations, full of lies and reservation, is as follows :—

On the 6th of October, 1848, at noon, in consequence of alarms, he went as a National Guard of the first company of the seventh circle of the Wieden Faubourg, with his company into the city to the Red Tower Gate, and thence with a cannon taken by them from the city arsenal to the bastion above the Caroline Gate.

Out of joy at having escaped unwounded on the Stephensplatz, where the rear divisions of his battalion had been fired upon by the Civic Guards, he repaired, after two o'clock, from the bastion to a neighbouring public-house, and from thence, slightly intoxicated, to the Aula with his bayoneted musket, and then straight to the courtyard, where he forced his way with the rest of the crowd into the court of the War Office.

Here he was standing in the throng of people, when the War Minister was brought from the upper stories into the court.

Seeing the crowd now pressing upon the count with uplifted weapons, and the universal animosity against him, he himself came to share their rage, and forcing his way through the mass of people, resolved himself to give the War Minister a bayonet-thrust, and had he been able, he would have inflicted several upon him.

When however he reached the count, the latter was already lying on the ground ; but the accused did not know whether he still lived or was already dead.

At the moment when Jurkovich thrust at the War Minister with his bayonet, he slipped down, pressed by the

crowd, and without having hit the count, he stepped into a pool of blood on the ground at the count's head, and his right boot and the lower part of his trousers were much stained.

Then being unable, as he would gladly have done, to give another thrust at the count, he quitted the War Office, taking from a workman at the gate, who was cutting a general's uniform into pieces and distributing them, one of these pieces, and then hastened exultingly to the University.

On his way, at the Lugeck, he heard people among the crowd in the streets crying out, that those who had killed Latour, would receive for it thirty gulden each at the Aula, and that their names would be inscribed in a book there.

His tailoring business having gone badly, he wished to come in for a share of this pay, and holding up the spotted cloth, and trusting to the traces of blood visible on him, he cried out, "I had also a hand in it!" whereupon the people lifted him up in their arms with shouts of bravo and exultation, and thus carried him about in triumph to the University-square.

But when the other people, fresh come from the War Office, saw him, they cried out, "That is not he, that is not the true one: this man deserves no reward!" and thereupon they drove him away, without his getting a kreutzer, whilst the rest of the murderers went to the Aula.

It is a striking fact, on the contrary, that Jurkovich, in his examinations, so often, and mostly of himself, came to speak of the blood-money, and sometimes cursed the expected thirty florins, with a feeling of bitter contrition, as the cause of his misfortune; adding, of his own accord, that he was sure he deserved the same reward as the man with the hammer!

The triumphal procession of the accused at the Aula is confirmed not only by his own confession, but by many eye-witnesses on oath, who added, that at the time several of the other murderers accompanied him, some with bloody weapons, whilst Jurkovich, in his National Guard uniform, was the only one carried on the people's shoulders.

From the Aula, Jurkovich went, as he further relates in the course of his confession, accompanied by a great crowd of people, on to the bastion to his company, where he boasted publicly of his deed, and distributed the pieces of the cloth uniform he had brought with him.

His look at that time is described by the witnesses as frightful and revolting.

He was in the utmost excitement, his eyes rolled, his hair stood upright; both hands, his shirt-sleeves, his right foot, and the lower part of his trousers were saturated with blood, and his whole appearance, literally dripping with blood, was so wild and hideous, that most of the guards turned from him with horror and disgust.

In the evening again, on his return home from the bastion, Jurkovich again boasted in the open street at the Freihaus, in the Wieden Suburb, of his bravery in the murder, in the presence of a great concourse of people.

After the entrance of the imperial troops into the city, Jurkovich, as he himself acknowledged, had no longer a quiet hour; he was in continual dread of being arrested, made arrangements in his house to provide against the chance of this, and sought advice of those companions of his among the guards who had seen him, on the 6th October, on the bastion, whether he had not better fly. He cut off his beard, was all night bathed in perspiration, according to the testimony of his housekeeper, and his sleep was broken by exclamations of anxiety.

Wangler, Brambosch, as well as most of the other accomplices, were also tormented by a similar disquiet and dread, and they all took pains to disfigure their appearance as much as possible, by cutting off their beards, to prevent their being recognised.

4. *Franz Kohl*, was born in the Eisengrab district and lordship of Gföhl, in Lower Austria ; twenty-two years of age, a Catholic, unmarried ; a journeyman joiner by trade.

Nothing came out unfavourable to his previous life and character, but at his house, among numerous effects, were found many democratic street-circulars and other papers.

Arrested in consequence of these suspicious circumstances in his own house, whither he went, on the 12th October, 1848, from Vienna, he stated the following particulars in his examination :—

On the 6th October, 1848, he came into the city in the afternoon, to the Hofplatz, from the Wieden Suburb, where he was at that time at work, in the employ of a joiner, when a cry was raised by a large concourse of people that Latour was to be hung.

One National Guardsman of his own suburb (an Hungarian, named Joseph Major), was especially active in inciting the people, and drew on the crowd by motioning with his naked sword, and then incited them to force their way into the building. Hereupon the whole swarm, consisting chiefly of guards and armed railway-workmen (the accused amongst the rest), proceeded, with a general cry that Latour must be found, into the War Office, and up the back chief staircase, into several rooms on the first story, which, it was said, were the apartments of the War Minister.

Following the example of the crowd, and in order not to be laughed at by his comrades at home as a coward, Kohl said that he here helped in the search for the count, thinking

that the people would be satisfied with merely taking him prisoner.

They however only found a field-uniform, with a hat and plume of feathers, which were immediately torn in pieces and distributed, the accused taking a military cross which had been attached to the uniform.

On hearing the cry, which suddenly burst forth in the courtyard, "They have got him: he must be hung!" Kohl hastened down with the rest, and on this occasion took from a workman, whom he met on the staircase, an iron two-pronged fork fastened to a wooden handle (many of which were taken from the registry-offices in the plunder at that time), in order, as he states, to show his comrades at home that he was present at the scene, and did not want courage.

When the accused went down into the court, the count had just been brought thither, and the crowd rushed upon him in a mass, beating him, and exclaiming, "Only hang him: no pardon!"

During this scene, Kohl stood, according to his statement, perfectly passive, with the long fork above mentioned, at about twenty paces from the spot where the murder was committed.

When the victim, according to the general deposition of the bystanders, was already lifeless, and the crowd demanded his being hung up, in order that they might see him better, Kohl left the place where he had been standing, on being called by a workman near him to lend a hand, and forced his way up to the barred window, the spot of the hanging.

A workman standing behind here threw them a cord, and there was a call for a knife to cut it with.

Two men, whose faces the accused could not see, then fastened the body, which was lifted up by the others, with a

cord to the window-bars, and Kohl helped, seizing the body with his iron fork, and lifting it up, in which act the fork, as well as the accused's clothes and hat, were soiled with the blood flowing from the count's head.

This hangman's assistant adds, that the count was at that time still alive, for he had looked at him closely, with a view to be able to assert the contrary.

He confessed the enormity of his deed, but said that he had done it only to please the people, and not out of personal animosity towards the minister.

Kohl declares, that at the instant when the body fell from the window, he went away from the War Office, and home to the Wieden, taking with him the iron fork, which was subsequently found in his house.

According to the deposition of one of the witnesses, it is, however, highly probable that he, as well as some others of the murderers, went still earlier—between five and six o'clock—through the Schulenstrasse, past the inn of the Golden Duck, where the Central Committee of all the democratic clubs held their meetings on the second story, going in triumph, speechifying, boasting of their deeds, and flourishing their weapons.

Several other circumstances raise doubts as to the integrity of the confession of this accused; for another eye-witness of the deed asserts, on oath, that he saw a young man, of small stature, high-coloured in the face, during the perpetration of the murder, with a fork formed exactly like the one belonging to Kohl, and produced to the witness, and that this young man gave a thrust at the War Minister.

Witness said that, from his short-sightedness, he could not identify the accused, who was placed before him, to whom that personal description corresponded; but Kohl had, on the evening of the murder, boasted to another witness,

his companion, that he had struck at the count with the fork thus described, which boast he confesses, calling it, however, only an empty brag, and denying the blow or thrust.

A third witness observed in the courtyard of the War Office, a man, whom he could not distinguish more closely, holding up a bundle of cord on a similar fork, over the heads of the people, to the hangman at the window.

Lastly, another eye-witness states that he saw the body of the War Minister, when being hung to the lamp-post in the square, lifted up with a similar iron fork by a man who could not be recognised in the crowd.

The reproaches of his mistress, to whom he had confided his participation in the crime, were silenced by Kohl with the excuse that he had acted only to secure liberty.

5. *Johann Johl*, born at Witzelsdorf, in Lower Austria, thirty years of age, a Catholic, unmarried; journeyman weaver in a manufactory at Gumpendorf: had been at an earlier period of life arrested by the police for stealing clothes, but was liberated, from the want of sufficient grounds of suspicion.

His employer gives him a favourable character, and his fellow-workmen praise his cheerful temper, but speak of his attachment to the anarchist party.

He himself states that he was a member of the Liberal Club, under the presidency of the notorious Chaisées, in the Wieden Suburb; also that he had visited the Society of German Catholics, and likewise the immense assemblage in the Odeon, September, 1848; the object of which was to prepare the outbreak of the 6th October, 1848.

Respecting his share in the murder, Johl made the following confession in the court:—

On the 6th October, at one o'clock in the afternoon, as he

asserts, he went unarmed and from mere curiosity into the city, where the tocsin had just sounded, first to the Stephensplatz, when the Civic Guards fired upon guards of the suburbs, and then to the University, in order to hear what was said there.

As the tumult in the Aula was too great to hear anything distinctly—the whole assembly speaking, one louder than another—he followed a number of students, guards, and armed workmen to the Stephensplatz, where the pioneers fired upon the people, and retired beyond the Graben.

On this occasion he was a mere spectator, and was slightly wounded on the left shin by the rebound of a shot.

Hearing it said that the military were overpowered, and were being disarmed on the Freiung, curiosity seized him to go thither; and thence he proceeded to the War Office, where the tumult was the greatest, in order to see what was going on there.

He found the court filled with students, National Guards, and workmen, and just as he reached the side staircase, the people were bringing out the War Minister, upon whom the crowd rushed, in spite of the loud entreaties of two gentlemen, conducting the count on each side, not to ill-use him, the Diet having taken him under their protection. The crowd, notwithstanding, pressed on, with cries of "Kill him!" and beat him with all kinds of weapons; one of the first blows with a hammer, inflicted by a sooty-faced smith, struck the minister's head.

Up to that time Johl, as he states, had stood inactive, at about eight or ten paces from the crowd; but when the count lay to all appearance lifeless on the ground, and a well-dressed man near the accused drew a bundle of cord from his pocket, and called out for a knife, Johl states that, surprised and without reflection, he pulled his knife out of his

pocket, and handed it to the man, who with it cut off a piece of the tangled cord, and threw it into the crowd who surrounded the prostrate count, exclaiming, "Hang him up!" And that the body was then pulled up with that cord to the window-grating, and fastened.

Accused stated that he also saw the body, fallen from the window, dragged to the square, hung up to the lamp-post, and fired at: he then went to the high bridge, and there remained for some time, during the attack on the arsenal, out of curiosity.

According to the depositions on oath of two of his fellow-workmen, Johl on the contrary boasted afterwards, in the manufactory, of his participation in the deed in handing the knife, not only with boldness and self-satisfaction, but he even bragged that he had helped to search for the War Minister in his dwelling, had burst open several doors with his foot, and in doing so had hurt his knee; and that he had incited the folks, who were busy in the destruction of the furniture, rather to go and seek out the count.

He also states that, during the firing at the dead body suspended in the square, he called out to two officers of the main guard close by, who were stupified at the scene, "Look ye, gentlemen, there hangs a count, and 'tis proper to give him a salute of honour."

Johl confessed that he indulged in these expressions in the manufactory; but that in doing so he only repeated what he had heard, and held such language, because the men would not believe that he had been present at the occurrence.

The accused admitted having shared in the subsequent October revolt; that he not only helped to defend the Mariahilf lines on the 26th and 28th of October, 1848, but that on the latter day he voluntarily joined a division of workmen proceeding to the Leopoldstadt, and fired several

times on the advancing military from a window, at the barricades in the Jäger Zeil; and that on the 30th of October he again took up arms, on the news of the approach of the Hungarians.

6. *Michael Neumayer*, another accomplice, a native of Loitzendorf, in the kingdom of Bavaria; has resided since December 1st, 1845, in Austria, is twenty-eight years of age, a Catholic, married; settled in Oberdöbling, where he tended the gardens of several private individuals, and was enrolled in the National Guard of the place, with whom he used to do duty in Vienna also.

He was the son of a schoolmaster, attended in his youth the Latin classes, and acquired a mental education far surpassing his condition in life.

The accounts of his previous life in Bavaria afford a clue to Neumayer's unbridled passionateness, and in that country, in the year 1826, he underwent a preliminary examination in the Vienna Criminal Court, on account of a public act of violence; which charge, not coming under the criminal proceedings, was referred to the Police Commissariat at Oberdöbling, and was there dismissed with a short arrest.

It came out that Neumayer had grossly insulted his employer, on occasion of a reproof to his mistress; had threatened his life, and two days afterwards had waylaid him in the evening in the public way, and pelted his carriage with stones from an ambuscade.

In the beginning of October, 1848, he was suspected of a burglary and robbery, but the Criminal Court found the proofs insufficient to proceed further against him.

A letter written by Neumayer, which appears in the documents, indicates clearly a discontented spirit, in consequence of his low condition, filled with hate and bitterness toward all in high rank.

His fellow-lodgers unanimously asserted that during the last year he had been always excited, stormy, and passionately addicted to the tumults existing at that time.

They describe him as a cunning and malicious man, whose looks, as one of the witnesses adds, involuntarily reminds one of the nature of the tiger.

Those about him were surprised how, with a family of six children, he could have lived so comfortably the last summer, when he seldom got work and generally went sauntering about.

His behaviour during the examinations was remarkable; he exhibited an imperturbable quietness and coolness, at the same time assuming an hypocritical air of humbleness and Christian resignation to his fate.

It deserves especially to be mentioned, that essays by him have appeared in the political "Studenten Courier."

According to the judicial depositions of Neumayer, he was in the forenoon of the 6th of October, 1848, working in the garden of the Children Hospital, in the Alser Suburb, when he heard the alarm beat, and on the news that a tumult had arisen on the Tabor, on account of the departure of a grenadier battalion, he hastened thither, unarmed, and dressed in his light-grey summer coat and the cap of the National Guard; the fighting had however ended, and he assisted in removing the dead and wounded.

Returning to the city, when he reached the Hofplatz, seeing the military in conflict with the guards, he joined the proletarians in the square, and went with them to the chief guard of the War Office.

In the guard-room he found ten to fifteen grenadiers and pioneers, who were at first threatened by the people; but afterwards, when voices were raised for them, and it was said that the soldiers were innocent, and the great personages must

be called to account, they were led off prisoners to the city arsenal.

One of these pioneers, who had applied to the accused for protection, gave the latter his sword at his request, which Neumayer kept in his hand in the subsequent occurrences.

When the gate of the War Office was opened, upon the clamour of the increasing multitude, the accused went with the crowd to the first story, where a door was pointed out which it was said Count Latour had entered.

After repeated knocking at the closed entrance, and the threat of bursting open the door, a gentleman came out (who the accused afterwards heard was General Von Frank), who, in reply to the inquiry where the War Minister was, declared he did not know ; whereupon, on the demand of the people, he was led off prisoner to the city arsenal, whither Neumayer conducted him.

The accused, however, soon returned to the War Office, just as the deputy Borrosch rode off from thence.

At this time, and whilst already several cries were heard demanding Latour's death, witness states that Rausch, who was standing on the lower steps of the back main staircase, called on the concourse of people to follow him ; whereupon the accused, as he says, followed Rausch to the second story, only for the protection of the count, when the breaking in the gates and the devastation of the apartments began.

Neumayer proceeded to describe the occurrences, above related, on the staircase of the third story after the count's resignation was brought thither by Smolka, and remarks, that he was one of the twenty guards who undertook, with a solemn oath, the protection of the War Minister, under the leadership of Rausch.

He went with this young student and the three deputies to the hiding-place of the count, and dwells particularly

upon the circumstance that, when Smolka represented to the War Minister the necessity of his showing himself to the people, and letting himself be conducted by the guard of protection to the Diet, he (Neumayer) tapped the deputy Sierakowsky on the shoulder, and drew his attention to the danger of leading the count down to the infuriated mob, advising that the War Minister should rather be under guard in the chamber upstairs.

On the other hand, the depositions of the deputies and of Major Baron Boxberg, show that the proposal to guard the count upstairs had been made by themselves, and that the War Minister was willing to adopt this course, only expressing his wish to be taken to the major's apartment.

Respecting the subsequent events, Neumayer says as follows :—

Soon afterwards, when he stationed himself with the young student before the passage door which the count had entered, Rausch approached from the staircase with his guard of protection, in which several meddling persons had mingled, and in reply to the question "Where is he?" the young student pointed to the door, which Rausch opened, and out of which the count stepped, with the expression before stated.

Accused also states, that with the wish of saving the War Minister, he now opposed the crowd, who wanted to take him downstairs, representing that the count should remain upstairs, as the guard of protection had pledged their word of honour for his safety.

He was however clamoured down by the rest, and the count was led downstairs, whereupon the accused, when afterwards one of the two men who were at the count's side was pushed away, took his place ; that he reproached the fellow for his roughness in forcing the War Minister's hat on to his

face, and that the man in return threatened him with his sword.

In the courtyard the count, with his protectors, was pressed against the window-wall, and Neumayer states that he kept close to the count's right side, whilst another big man was on his left.

Thereupon, some of the people standing round them, especially two unarmed gentlemen, parried with their arms the blows aimed at the count on all sides with muskets and pikes; but the accused did not observe any sabre among these weapons. A young, shortset workman, behind the big man on the count's left side, pressed forward, and struck the minister a blow on the head with a hammer from behind, when the count staggered, but soon recovered himself.

After this blow on the hat of the count, the blood forced its way through the head-covering, and accused was sprinkled with it.

Indignant at the base conduct of the fellow with the hammer, he threatened him with his pioneer's sabre, but presently he observed one of those behind thrusting a pointed iron pole between the people in front, and inflicting a stab in the count's belly; whereupon the latter sank to the ground, and accused, considering any further effort to protect him fruitless, went across the Hofplatz to the Civic Arsenal and thence straight to Döbling.

Some days afterwards he took his pioneer's sabre to the Imperial Arsenal, wishing to exchange it for a trailing sword.

In contradiction, however, to this statement, it was asserted on oath by several eye-witnesses, that the first wound inflicted on the War Minister when he entered the court, was followed by a stroke with a pioneer's sabre on the head.

Aide-de-camp Captain Leopold Count Gondrecourt, who pushed the War Minister against the wall for his safer protection, placed himself before him, and parried with his hand several thrusts and blows aimed at the latter, especially affirms, that Count Latour was at that time without any head-covering, and that he, as long as witness stood before him, received only a sabre-cut on his forehead, from which Captain Gondrecourt was covered with blood.

One of the invalids belonging to the Horse-guard, saw from the passage-window the War Minister, whose hat had been torn off, receive the first wound from a blow on the head, struck by a man whom witness could not distinguish, at the window-wall, with a yellow-handled sabre.

The third witness, a magistrate's officer, who was standing at twenty paces from the War Minister when he entered the courtyard, deposes, that the first stroke was inflicted by a pioneer's sabre, which was instantly followed by a number of blows and thrusts with all kinds of weapons, among which was a hammer.

Witness was too much stunned at the scene, to have impressed on his recollection the appearance of the man with the pioneer's sabre.

Another witness, formerly an officer in the Imperial service, who came accidentally and unarmed to the scene of the murder, found the War Minister, without his hat, at the window-wall, just when the latter entered the courtyard, and placed himself, in order to protect him, at his right side, whilst on the count's left was a large, elegantly-dressed man, and round about several other unarmed gentlemen, who were actively engaged in trying to save him; but who all were, one by one, forced away.

One man, who, according to another statement, belonged to the Guards of the Suburb seized the count by the head, and

pulled him with such violence that the unhappy man staggered and held fast by the witness's hand.

The latter saw three blows hit the count, nearly at the same time,—one with a pioneer's sabre, the second with an iron pole, both on the head, and the third with a hammer, or, as he believes, with a hoe.

Witness describes the man who inflicted the sabre-cut, and who stood opposite the War Minister, as perfectly corresponding to the accused in age, stature, appearance, and dress.

According to Neumayer's personal representation, he confirmed this likeness, without being able—as is conceivable—to speak with perfect certainty.

Two other witnesses, both peaceable and trustworthy workmen, were standing at eight to ten paces from the War Minister, and agree in asserting that a man, standing close before him, and whose description perfectly answers to accused, inflicted the first blow on the count's head with a pioneer's sabre, exclaiming, "Down with the dog!" (*Nichts, nieder mit dem Hund!*) and that thereupon the count, in order to protect himself, seized his head with both his hands.

Both witnesses remarked the shirt sticking out on the arm which was raised to deal this stroke, and upon being confronted with Neumayer, they confirmed his striking resemblance to the man, but were not able to prove his identity with certainty, as they had been standing behind the man during the perpetration of the act.

The accomplice Wilhelm recognised in the person of Neumayer the same man with perfect certainty, who, going upon the staircase directly behind the War Minister, insulted him in the most furious manner, threatened his life, and kept continually flourishing his pioneer-sabre over his head, as if he would every instant deal a blow with it.

Brambosch after his condemnation also states with certainty, upon Neumayer being placed before him, that it was he who, after helping to conduct the War Minister down from the fourth story, placed himself before him in the courtyard, and raised his arm as if to strike a blow at the count with his pioneer-sabre.

Brambosch could not observe, in the tumult that prevailed, whether the sabre-stroke really hit the count; but says that it is false that Neumayer tried to strike the man with the hammer, as he just then turned away from the latter and toward the count.

The wife of a civil officer, who was produced as a witness, recognised in the accused—not indeed with certainty, but with probability—the same man who, during the procession with Jurkovich in the Aula, flourishing a pioneer-sabre, had exclaimed "This I have won myself!" and according to the testimony of a woman who lived in the same house as Neumayer at Oberdöbling, he the same evening exhibited at home the pioneer-sabre he had brought in a triumphant manner, and repeating the same words.

Several other persons living in the same house, testified that accused returned so sprinkled with blood, that he had instantly to change his clothes; that he related the War Minister's fate with a joyous excitement, adding, that the dog was rightly treated; boasted of his share in the murder; that he had ironically mocked at the words of the count, which he repeated to them, "My dear children;" and when reproached by a witness, he had answered, "If you had seen the bloodshed before on the Tabor, you would, like me, have had no pity for him."

Lastly, it was affirmed by these witnesses, that Neumayer afterwards, especially since the entrance of the Imperial troops, had exerted himself zealously to spread the belief

that at Latour's murder he had been only anxious for his protection; and one of the witnesses mentions a man coming once previously to accused's house, looking like a student, who some days after the murder had asked for him, saying, "We want him, he must come!"

To all these statements accused gave the most obstinate denial, remarking, that he saw he was lost by so many appearances of proof against him, but it was all an error, and that an accidental likeness with one of the agents in the murder threatened his destruction!

7. *Joseph Pawikausky*, another of the agents, was born at Vienna in Austria, is thirty-five years old, a Catholic, unmarried; a journeyman, and seller of sand. He has been fourteen times before punished judicially, mostly for robbery and excesses; is known as excessively brutal and given to drink.

According to his confession, he went on the day of the murder, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, unarmed and without a coat, into a spirit-shop in the city, where he got intoxicated, fell asleep, and did not go to the Graben till the afternoon.

He states that he was here just putting aside the dead body of a soldier who had been shot, when suddenly a shot was fired from a window in the neighbourhood, whereupon about twenty-five guards and workmen ran together, and rushed with him into the apartments of the first story of the house, from which they thought the shot had been fired.

In the presence of an affrighted man-servant they ransacked all the chests and cupboards, showed the greatest rage against the unknown person who had fired the shot; and the accused, who, instead of a weapon, says that he carried in his hands a large stone, does not deny that he uttered threats of killing.

He went thence to the Hofplatz, where the body of the War Minister was just being dragged by a crowd of men to the lamp-post.

Hearing the people cry "He must be hanged!" and being worked up to a state of fury by the occurrence with the servant, the accused was led to consent to hang up the body.

He states that he, in the first place, mounted on a stone at the foot of the lamp-post; but not being able to reach the arm of the post, nor fasten the corpse to it by the cord fastened round the neck, although it was lifted up by others, the body fell from him sideways.

A ladder was then brought, which the accused mounted; and he then tied fast to the arm of the lamp-post with a white leathern strap, which some one shortly before had slung round the neck of the count, the lifeless body of the count, whose head, hanging down on one side, had been beaten in, and bled copiously from gaping wounds.

Thereupon Pawikausky, according to his own statement, turned the suspended body round, the face being towards the lamp-post, in order that every one might see it; he then descended the ladder, and went to the Imperial Arsenal, to see how the affair would end, from whence, without taking part in the attack, he returned, not till the morning, to the spirit-shop.

The statements of the eye-witnesses, several of whom recognised Pawikausky with certainty as the hangman, or, to use their own expression, as the Matador, describe his frightful activity at first on the stone, and afterwards on the ladder, and give brutal details.

The accused states that he pulled off his jacket to hang the body, stripped up his shirt-sleeves, ill-treated the body when standing on the stone with kicks and blows, because it slipped from his hands, and afterwards on the ladder embraced it with his bloody hands, insultingly and with coarse expressions, pulled it about by the hair, and spit in the face, till a shudder ran through the witnesses.

At the conclusion he made a speech, amid shouts of applause from the spectators, like Wangler, a repetition of which human feeling forbids.

The deposition of an eye-witness belonging to the educated classes is important, and entitled to full credit: he had by chance made his way through the crowd among the murderers in the courtyard of the War Office, where he stood only a few paces distant from the barred window. He recognised with certainty Pawikausky, on being confronted with him, as the same man who, at the first strangulation, when the count was still alive, drew up the body, and tied it with the cord to the window-bars.

Witness saw the same man, Pawikausky, soon afterwards in the square, acting as hangman at the lamp-post.

Another equally credible witness confirms the identity of the hangman in both cases with the person of Pawikausky, but merely conjecturally, without being able to speak with certainty.

A third witness thinks, also with probability only, that he observed Pawikausky among the band of murderers in the courtyard of the building.

From the deposition of the servant in the dwelling in the Seitzergasse, into which Pawikausky forced his way to seek for the man who fired the shot, it appears that the crowd who rushed in with him was headed by Padovany (afterwards convicted as an insurgent), who exhibited great haste, and went away exclaiming, "We have still more to do!" Whereupon witness saw the whole rabble of people hasten to the War Office.

He afterwards related to the same servant, who was one of Pawikausky's customers for sand, that he had shot several soldiers, at the attack on the arsenal, from the roof of an adjoining house; and when witness reproached him after

the occupation of the city with the occurrences of the 6th of October, accused excused himself by saying, that they, the workmen, had been paid in October by Jews, and were employed where they were wanted.

The accused said, that matters would soon begin again, but that witness might be quiet; nothing more would happen to him, for he (Pawikausky) was now well-disposed, and before, likewise, he had only fought for liberty.

In a similar manner he had expressed himself also against another of his customers, in March, 1849, remarking, that they should again assemble, and fall upon "the big-heads" with scythes: so saying, the accused pointed to the head, with a motion of his hand, accompanied by a hissing sound.

Several other eye-witnesses stated, that it was generally known in the Wieden Suburb, where Pawikausky dwelt, that on the 6th of October he sold in the city several pieces of cloth, part of the dress of Count Latour, at ten to thirty kreutzers apiece; and his friend and comrade, who was also examined respecting his participation in this crime, asserts, that Pawikausky confided to him that he had hung up the body of the count, after having first dragged it out from the building.

Afterwards, however, the accused, as his friend testifies, could not bear any talk about the murder of the War Minister; for it seemed to make him anxious and uneasy, and he used, whenever the conversation fell upon this subject, to go away; indeed, he had latterly declared that his life was a burden to him, and that he must give himself up to the authorities, as so many innocent persons were under arrest on his account.

All participation exceeding the limits of his confession, especially his presence and co-operation in the murder in the War Office, at the first strangulation as well as at the attack on the arsenal, was obstinately denied by the

accused; and it only remains to be mentioned, that in consequence of a wound at the fight on the lines, October 28th, 1848, he was laid up in the hospital for thirteen weeks.

8. *Johann Fischer*, was born at St. Georgen, in the county of Presburg, in Hungary; is thirty-eight years of age, a Catholic, and unmarried; he is a joiner in a manufactory in the neighbourhood of the Gloggnitz station, the father of two illegitimate children: has never before been under judicial examination, was an industrious workman, but passionate, irritable, very resolute, proud, seldom sober, and feared by every one in his own house for his brutality.

A prominent feature in his character is his especial predilection for riots, to which he used always to run armed, and with a kind of fanatical inspiration.

According to his statement, which was rendered suspicious by his reserve at first, and by his numerous contradictions, he left his dwelling on the day of the murder early in the afternoon, and went first to a neighbouring spirit-shop, afterwards, after two o'clock, unarmed into the city, to the Aula, where he remained inactive for half an hour, and then went to the Seitzergasse.

Here he states that he took the iron pike of a workman, who went away leaving the weapon behind him, and proceeded with it to the courtyard of the War Office, where he remained about ten minutes; that just then a gentleman, who was surrounded by a crowd of workmen and guards exclaiming that "Latour must come out, for he was there!" assured the multitude that the count was no longer in the house.

On being called upon by a National Guard to assist in removing the wounded from the guard-house in the square, the accused says, that he went to the guard-house, and from thence, as the wounded were already removed, to the Imperial Arsenal, it being said that the people were going to storm it.

Having, however, on his way thither turned back from fear, he remained on the Freiung; but an hour afterwards, hearing the cry suddenly raised that Latour was dead, he ran to the courtyard, where he saw the body suspended to the lamp-post, and covered it with a linen cloth.

The people, on hearing a discharge of musketry, thinking that the military were firing, ran off in different directions, and he hastened back to the Freiung, where a man was cutting to pieces and distributing a sword-belt, declaring it to have been Latour's; the accused also received a piece, and went with an acquaintance whom he met on the bastion to the arsenal.

There, without taking part in the attack, he remained till nine o'clock, and then went to a wine-cellar in the Graben, and at half-past ten o'clock returned home.

On the other hand, two witnesses recognised the accused as the same man who, on the evening of the murder, exhibited in the above-mentioned wine-cellar a pointed, pike-shaped, long, iron pole, bent round at the handle, with the boast, that he had killed Count Latour with it, at the same time boldly stating his name, condition, and abode; and on the remark of one of the witnesses, that he would receive a reward at the Aula for his deed, he answered, that he knew the way thither.

A piece of a sword-belt was also exhibited by Fischer on this occasion, with the remark, that it had belonged to Latour, and he had sold other gold tassels belonging to it for twenty kreutzers each.

In a like manner the accused boasted on the bastion to his acquaintances, as likewise in the evening twilight, on his return home soon afterwards, to the woman who lived in the same house, and in both places he expressly mentioned his pike, with which he had stabbed the War Minister, adding,

to the latter female witness, that he had also assisted at the hanging, and that he should cut off the end of his pike, to keep it as a memorial for his son.

One of the Deutschmeister Infantry Grenadiers, who, at the time of the murder, was standing in the courtyard of the War Office, and who endeavoured to rush to the aid of the War Minister, but was seized by a National Guard and driven back into the courtyard, with the words, that he had nothing to do there, describes precisely, in his examination before the arrest of the accused, an artisan, exactly corresponding to Fischer's person, who, soon after the attack on the count, stepped out of the knot of murderers, and standing close by the witness, wiped with a handkerchief a bloody pointed iron weapon, which seemed to the grenadier to be a bayonet, exclaiming, "The only wish of my life, to have his blood, is satisfied :—the villain betrayed my country!"

This witness accidentally met Fischer in the antechamber of the court, and hardly had he caught sight of him, when he begged to be examined, and asserted with certainty that Fischer was the workman described by him.

The above-mentioned accomplice, Brambosch, saw, as soon as he reached the War Office, Fischer standing in the courtyard with an iron pike; and when Brambosch afterwards turned round to go away, after the blows inflicted with the butt-end of the musket on the War Minister, he observed the accused close in front of him, again in the midst of the crowd of murderers, armed with a weapon, which he this time could not exactly distinguish, on account of the prevailing tumult, whilst he confirmed his personal identity with certainty.

Another witness of the deed recognised, without hesitation, Fischer as—with a great degree of probability—one of those he had seen among the crowd of murderers in the courtyard,

actively engaged in the deed: and a person sentenced for insurrection by the Criminal Court considered the accused, although not with perfect certainty, to be the same workman who, with three other proletarians, ill-treated with his iron pike a gentleman who was indignant at the strangulation on the lamp-post, and who barely saved himself by flight to the neighbouring guard-house, where he was obliged to have surgical assistance.

Lastly, several of Fischer's fellow-lodgers confirmed his eager participation in the fight with the imperial troops during the last days of October, and especially the circumstance that he, on the 30th of October, when the imperial outposts were already in his suburb, came home in haste, fetched his musket, and, like a madman, rushed out, saying that he must shoot the military sentinel. In his garret, and under the floor of his chamber, six pistols were found concealed, also a considerable number of cartridges, and a piece of the above-mentioned sword-belt, the possession of which he admitted.

The accused did not confess his thrice boasting of his participation in the murder until after many denials, with the remark, that he had only bragged of it, without having been on the spot of the murder.

He had, however, been told in the street by a woman, that the murderers of Count Latour would be well rewarded at the Aula, and he was forced to admit that he did really cut off the end of his iron pike, on the 7th of October, and kept it as a memorial, but only that he might be able to say years afterwards what had once taken place in Vienna.

In the last days of October he had marched out only a few times with the National Guards of his district to the line, and on the 30th of October he had taken his musket out with him, only to deliver it up, but not to shoot the sentinel.

9. *Joseph Major*, a native of Rosenau, in the Gömör county in Hungary, fifty-six years of age, of the Evangelical religion, unmarried; formerly an apothecary, recently secretary of a landed proprietor in Hungary. Since 1841 he has resided at Vienna, in the Wieden Suburb, with an acquaintance, who was a money-broker, without property or any fixed income: he is described as cautious in his statements, but easily excited and irritable, a Radical, cheerful and kind in his manner, and as having been beloved by the Wieden Guards, whose standard-bearer he was.

Kohl described and denounced this man as one of the inciters of the people in the events of the 6th of October in the city; stating that, at the time when the multitude in the Hofplatz demanded with outcries the death of the War Minister, he had placed himself in front of the opened door of the War Office, and, flourishing his sabre, had instigated the people to enter, calling on them to take courage, to follow him, and not to be frightened at anything.

Kohl heard from the bystanders, that the same guardsman had not only shortly before fought very bravely himself on the Graben, but had also fired upon the people in the conflict with the military.

In the War Office, Kohl did not see the accused again until the moment when the count's body fell from the window-grating.

Major was at that time standing hardly five paces off, and spoke with several other guardsmen, without Kohl's being able to overhear their conversation.

Major himself made the following statements:—

On the day of the murder he went to the city at two o'clock in the afternoon with his musket, but without a sabre, to seek the first company of the National Guards of his district, and was drawn into the fight with the pioneers on the Graben.

He states that he there fired several times upon the imperial troops, and incited the people to fight, using exclamations which he must confess with repentance.

He also admits that he encouraged the multitude in front of the gate of the War Office to advance and enter the building, at a time, indeed, when the death of the War Minister was loudly demanded.

In the courtyard, when the proletarians and Jews, dressed like students, were crying out that the count must die, and be hanged, he at first demanded for him a court-martial ; but on being abused as a black-yellow dog for this, he was seized with the general rage, and joined with the rest in the cry, that Latour must be hung, but without having any kind of personal enmity against the War Minister.

He states that the students, by representing to them that Count Latour wanted to rob them of their liberties, and they must defend these, formally instigated them against him, and ordered them to capture the War Office.

Using a significant simile, Major here said, "The students were the drivers, but they [the people] were the oxen !"

On the departure of the deputy Borrosch from the War Office, the accused says that he accompanied him through different streets to the Stephensplatz, after which he drank a glass of wine in a public-house close by, and then returned to the War Office, where he spoke with some guards at the time when the body of the count fell from the window-bars.

He does not exactly remember what he said or did in the courtyard on this occasion, for he was probably intoxicated.

If he knew the charges brought against him in the court, he would confess them ; but he admits with repentance, that when the body fell from the window-bars, he insulted the count, and cried out with the rest, that Latour must be hung.

After having seen the body dragged to the square and suspended to the lamp-post, he went to the Civic Arsenal, and from thence, toward nine o'clock, home.

It must be observed, that Major did not confess his second presence in the War Office at the time of the first strangulation until after the deposition of Kohl; but in subsequent examinations he again retracted his statement, saying that he went from the public-house straight to the City Arsenal, and from thence home, without again entering the War Office; and, not having yet stood before the court, he, from fear, stated falsely that he had been in the building during the strangulation.

The partial retractation of the accused's confession is explained by the circumstance, that he succeeded, whilst under arrest, in keeping up an intercourse with a friend, who was by no means free from suspicion; and it must be mentioned, that several facts, confirmed by witnesses, tend to indicate that Major was a paid agent of the Hungarian anarchist party, for furthering the occurrences of the 6th of October; whose intrigues and share in the murder of the War Minister will be seen more closely hereafter. The facts here alluded to are, especially, the frequent intercourse of Major with Hungarian advocates and compromised landowners in Hungary; his continued and active connection with that country in the summer of 1848, whither he went on a furlough granted him by his captain; lastly, the circumstance, which struck one of the witnesses so forcibly, that Major, who made no secret of his poverty, suddenly, in August or September, 1848, was plentifully supplied with money, and paid drinking debts.

10. *Michael Wilhelm* is a native of Vienna, in Austria, twenty-two years of age, a Catholic; unmarried, a journeyman glove-maker: has never before been punished; has the character of

an extreme Radical, and on the court-martial examination of his brother, Vincenz Wilhelm, for having concealed arms during the state of siege under peculiarly incriminating circumstances, he was arrested as compromised in that matter, whence arose his participation in this murder.

As already related by the accomplice Brambosch, Wilhelm, together with him, both belonging to the same company of National Guards, shortly before the murder, forced their way into the War Office, at the instigation of the public speaker in the Bazaar Court; and the deposition of Wilhelm agrees perfectly with that of Brambosch, up to the time when the latter, with Rausch, and the two other guards, returned from the fruitless search for the War Minister in the passages of the fourth story, to the impatient crowd on the staircase.

It is well known that Brambosch accused Wilhelm of being, on that occasion, one of the most violent instigators against the count; that he demanded aloud his death; and, in his rage, even presented his bayonet at Brambosch's breast, accusing him of concealing Latour; from which circumstance Brambosch also points him out as the sole author of his misfortune, as he was first thrown by him into that state of unbridled rage against the count, which led to his participation in the murder.

Brambosch repeated this himself to Wilhelm, before the court, in a distinct manner, without any passion; nay, after being told the fate that awaited him, in the language of reconciliation.

It was first, on being thus confronted, that Wilhelm confessed all the circumstances connected with his instigating the people, and sought an excuse in the example of the rest, and the general enmity against the War Minister, asserting that he had not thought it would come to a real murder.

With regard to his later conduct, Wilhelm says, that

when the count was led downstairs into the courtyard, he went behind him; but that just as the attack on the minister began, he returned to the bastion, without taking part in it.

He declares it to be untrue, that he took part in the subsequent attack on the imperial arsenal, or sought to persuade Brambosch to this.

11. *Wilhelm Rausch*, the last of the convicted men, was born at Sonneberg, in the Leitmeritz Circle, in Bohemia; is twenty-four years of age, a Catholic, unmarried; a student in technology, in his third annual course, and lieutenant in the Academic Legion, hitherto irreproachable in his conduct, and having the character of a quiet, industrious, well-conducted, and domestic young man; who, although carried away by the general enthusiasm for the March events, nevertheless hated the excesses of revolution.

Without assistance from home, he supported himself by private teaching and as a copyist; and in the summer, 1848, received also, upon his petition, an aid of fifty florins from his majesty the Emperor Ferdinand.

On the examination, he manifested an easily-susceptible spirit for every impression, without passing the limits of modesty.

The student, by whose share in the occurrences in the War Office their fatal termination was not a little furthered, states as follows:—

He had come on the morning of that day to the Polytechnic Institute, where his fellow-students disclosed to him that the plan was arranged not to allow the German troops to depart; that the day before, a fraternization had taken place between the Grenadiers and the National Guards in different public-houses, at which the former had given the promise not to depart, if they were supported by the Guards.

Hereupon the accused, after putting on his uniform, repaired to the University, where, towards eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a crowd of students, guards, and workmen called on him to be their leader, and under his command marched towards Leopoldstadt; but on their way thither, this troop, at the order of the commander of the Academic Legion, Aigner, who came riding, and met them at the city gate, turned round, and went back to the Aula.

Rausch here joined another division of students, who, under the command of the well-known Wutschel (still a fugitive), were going to the railway-station in the Prater, where he states that he remained for three-quarters of an hour inactive, out of mere curiosity; but that, on a volley fired by the military upon the students, he took to flight, and returned to the city.

Without again returning to the Aula, he says that he wandered about for some time in the streets; and at about half-past two o'clock went to the Hof, where the pioneers were standing.

In answer to a question here put to a general, whether there were no means of putting a stop to hostilities, the latter advised him to go to the War Minister; he thereupon sought the latter, and received from him a promise of the cessation of hostilities, on condition that he should first pacify the people, with whom the firing had commenced.

In this, however, he did not succeed, in spite of his representations to the multitude in the square; for the people cried out in great bitterness, that the War Minister must be called to account for the blood that had been shed; and the accused also heard himself reproached with being in league with Latour.

He confesses it was true, that on his return to the War Office on occasion of the issuing the written ministerial

order for the cessation of hostilities, being excited by hearing the firing of cannon in the square, and his ill reception by the people, he had behaved passionately, and called out to the minister in a tone of reproach, " This is the consequence of your orders,—I cannot answer for any further excesses!" He also admits that one of the bystanders advised him to moderate himself; but he denies having seized the War Minister by the breast, as one of the witnesses had deposed, and at the utmost admits it as possible that he might have involuntarily seized him by the button or by his coat, a common habit he had when excited.

With regard to the circumstance, confirmed by two witnesses, that he demanded at that time the opening of the locked gates, endeavouring to silence the anxiety expressed by the War Minister against this step by pledging his word of honour to prevent the forcible entrance of the people, if the gate was only opened,—Rausch remarks evasively, that he recollects there was some question about the opening of the gates, but he does not know exactly whether he himself spoke of this, and is much more of the opinion that another of the bystanders made that demand.

After describing his attempt at the window of the chancery-chamber on the first story, to pacify the people by exhibiting the placard, he further states, that, after a second vain attempt to appease the storm, the people being already infuriated to madness, he returned to the dwelling of the War Minister, accompanied by a National Guard, who joined him in the square, in order to represent to the count the extreme danger he was in, and to propose some means of conciliation; such as the resignation of his office.

On this occasion the aide-de-camp met him in the dwelling-house, and remarked, how frightful it would be if Count Latour were to be given up to the justice of the populace,

and he urged Rausch to co-operate with him in attempting to save the count, which accused was instantly ready to do.

Thereupon they came to the agreement, respecting which the assertion of the accused and the statement of the aide-de-camp differ—that the War Minister was to give in his resignation, which Niewiadomsky was to take in writing to the latter.

Rausch remarks, that the confidence which the aide-de-camp showed him on this occasion, had been a spur to him to throw himself into danger in order to save the minister.

A further inducement to him to take part in the occurrences, he asserts, was the report that a student had dragged a general out of the water on the Tabor; Rausch says he wished to do a similar act for the War Minister.

On the announcement of the measure agreed upon below in the courtyard, where he was declared a traitor, and the written paper a mere rag, and where he and the aide-de-camp got into the thickest crowd, Rausch heard the first death-cries against Latour.

At first he gave evasive answers, and professed ignorance; but the multitude growing more and more stormy, and reproaching him with knowing the hiding-place of the count, as he had been previously in intercourse with him—and when the people even threatened to kill him, he called out, thinking that the War Minister must have escaped in the mean time, Count Latour was upstairs, and they ought themselves to go up and satisfy themselves!

On the contrary, it is to be remarked, that not only Neumayer, but also another man, who had undergone a previous examination on suspicion of participation in the guilt, corroborated the fact of Rausch having called on the people on the staircase to follow him, as Latour was above-stairs, asserting, that they had not observed that Rausch

was at that time in any position of compulsion or anxiety.

Both witnesses recognise him as the same student, and they assert that they followed him only on his summons; nay, one of them declares, that Rausch was one of those students who, in the War Minister's study, read aloud the letters seized there to the people, exclaiming, "See here Latour's knavery!" It is further deposed by many witnesses, that just at the time when Rausch called on the people to follow him, there was a momentary quiet in the War Office.

Rausch, however, in his defence continues, that he, in company with guards and workmen, went into the second story; that there was a general cry that he must bring out the count to them; and that, seeing himself in the power of the people, fearing the worst for Latour, and thinking it better for the latter to be taken prisoner, than to fall into the hands of the people, he at last gave the promise to help them to seek the count.

They thus came into the count's antechamber, where they found the aide-de-camp, who, on being asked for Latour, led them to the church, and told them that the count had escaped through it.

The accused attempted to give a positive denial to the charge, that he had been among the other students on the reading of the letters in the count's study.

It appears from the statements of Captain Niewiadomsky, that Rausch, on occasion of their last meeting, had, calling him by his name, begged him to publish the whole proceedings in a newspaper, as he feared to be killed by the people as a traitor.

From the church, the accused says that he went to the staircase in the third story, just when the people, after the rejection of the minister's resignation, were some of them

demanding his imprisonment, and others his death; and adds, that he himself was the leader of those twenty guards who took the solemn oath to defend the count.

With regard to the subsequent search for the minister in the passages of the fourth story, with Brambosch and the two other guards,—on which Major Baron Boxberg mentions the significant circumstance, that Rausch met him, at the head of three guards, with a drawn sword, and asked him where the minister Bach was; and that, on his answering that he did not know (for which Rausch required the major's word of honour), Rausch remarks, that he was then really seeking Fischhof in the passages, that the latter might lead him to the count.

He adds, that he has some indistinct recollection that a person met him, who stated himself to be an officer, and that they had some talk about a word of honour.

What he asked that gentleman he does not know, and believes that he inquired rather for Latour than for the minister Bach; but he would not deny the possibility, from his excessive confusion at the time, of his having asked for Bach.

Accused is perfectly ignorant of their having on this occasion, as an invalid asserted, broken into and searched a chancery-chamber; on the contrary, it is true that, on their return to the staircase, they were received with reproaches.

When, lastly, Fischhof came with the news that Latour had been found, accused says that he followed him with the guard of protection across the passage to a door, before which they saw the War Minister standing, whereupon they conducted him downstairs.

Rausch states that he at the same time vainly attempted to push the War Minister sideways into a chamber.

Whilst they were going downstairs, a fresh mass of people met them, uttering threats of hanging the count; and the accused, having placed himself opposite to these people, and spoken strongly for the protection of the minister, he says that they forced him away from the staircase, dragged him into the passage on the second story, called him a black-yellow traitor, seized on his sash, and made signs of hanging him with it; from which danger he was freed by the arrival of the National Guard Ernst Koch,—a circumstance which the latter confirms.

Thereupon, the accused says that he went, accompanied by Koch, to the civic arsenal, where he had fomentations, being very unwell, from the effects of deadly anxiety and fear.

According to the depositions of several other eye-witnesses, Rausch rushed, disordered in mind and in the highest excitement, into the adjacent room in the arsenal, exclaiming, "May God not punish me—he is now hanging, and I am guilty of it!"

He related, that, at the moment when the people wanted to press into the War Office, to murder Latour, he concluded the agreement with the leaders of the crowd, in order to save the minister, to enter with them, and seek the latter, on condition that his life was spared.

At this statement Rausch beat his hand on his brow, and exclaimed, "Oh, that I had not told the people that the count was in the house!" He behaved like one in despair, and begged those present, in case he should be attacked for the murder in the public prints, to save his honour, as he was placed by that event in a false light, but in reality was wholly innocent of it.

He asserts, that he knew nothing of any plot against the count's life, and had no anticipation of so frightful an issue;

that he had thought nothing more was intended than the demolition of the building, and, at most, the ill-treatment of the minister; but that he, on the contrary, stimulated by ambition, had aimed at preventing this, stepping in as a mediator, and distinguishing himself; for his whole behaviour, from the time of his first appearance in the War Office, showed the intention and purpose only of putting a stop to the bloodshed, to effect a pacification and conciliation.

He added, that he had engaged in these occurrences like a lever, without his fault; but he wished, having fallen into the power of the people (as he expresses it), to reconcile the two parties; and it was only his danger and fear of passing for a traitor to the people, that induced him afterwards to assist in seeking for the count.

By the sentence of the court-martial of March 14, 1849, Wangler, Brambosch, Jurkovich, Kohl, and Johl, found guilty of participation in the murder of the R. I. General and Austrian Minister of War Count Baillet de Latour,—which crime is aggravated in the cases of Brambosch and Johl by their share in the insurrection, are doomed, the three first to death by hanging; but Kohl and Johl, in consideration of the probability, that at the time when they took part in the crime they believed the victim to have been already actually dead, are sentenced each to twenty years' fortress-labour in heavy irons; further, by the subsequent decree of the court-martial of July 9, 1848, Neumayer, Pawikausky, and Fischer, convicted of a share in the murder, with the aggravation of public acts of violence by Pawikausky, and by Fischer of a concealment of arms during the state of siege, in defiance of strict legal prohibition, from imperfect proofs furnished by concurrent circumstances—are sentenced, Neumayer and Pawikausky to twenty years', and

Fischer to fifteen years' fortress-labour, in heavy irons, Pawikausky likewise to fast one day in every week: further, Major, Wilhelm, and Rausch, for their participation in the murder, are condemned, the first to ten years', the second to eight years' fortress-labour, in heavy irons: and Rausch to six years' fortress arrest, in irons: and these sentences to be carried into execution.

There still remains the brief notice of the results of the investigation into the circumstance which appeared in the acts, that both at the strangulation in the courtyard, and at that in the square, a white military belt was employed, both of which belts the actors in the scene afterwards apparently joined together.

One of these belts, which was brought to the hospital with the dead body, was, according to distinct information, taken from a subaltern officer of the Duke of Nassau infantry regiment on the 6th of October; the other appears to have belonged to the grenadier who deserted at the Tabor from Baron Hess's infantry, who, it appears, was killed in a subsequent conflict in the ranks of the insurgents.

THIRD SECTION.

THE ASSASSINATION: ITS ORIGINATORS AND PROMOTERS.

THE mob which entered the War Office on the afternoon of the 6th October consisted of a motley mixture of persons of all ranks and classes of society. Still, among these it is easy to point out those classes which were distinguished by their activity and their numbers, and which took a prominent part in the perpetration of the crime.

These classes are: the members of the Academical Legion, who led on, and who directed the assault; the National Guards of the suburbs, and especially of the suburb of Wieden; and the labourers, and among these chiefly the navigators of the Southern Railway.

The judicial inquiry has proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the assassination of the Secretary at War was deliberately planned, and that in the "Aula" in particular it had been prepared and formally announced. To these facts we have the concurrent testimony of the witnesses, and of the criminals themselves.

It will, however, prove satisfactory further to substantiate the fact by a summary of the evidence which bears upon this point of the insurrection.

On the 4th October, 1848, at 9 o'clock A.M., a very respectable witness entered the lower arcade of the New University building. He was led by curiosity, having, as he passed, heard the violent outcries of many persons assembled on the premises.

On entering, he saw a crowd of National Guards, labourers, and students, with red caps and "Ziegenhain" cudgels.

Several of the students made inflammatory orations. They addressed themselves to the labourers, and attempted to induce them to assist in the impending assault upon the War Office, and to bring their friends and comrades with them for the same purpose. The speakers protested that the labourers alone could manage to preserve the liberty of the country. They added, that the functionaries of the Government ought to be hanged, and that Latour, the greatest foe to freedom, ought to be the first to whom they (the labourers) should award that doom.

The witness reported these facts at once to the Secretary at War, and on the morning of the 6th October, when he (the witness) left the War Office, he saw several groups of well-dressed civilians fraternizing with the Archduke Ludwig's grenadiers, and imploring them to stand by the people, and, in case of a conflict, not to fire upon their brethren.

We have already stated in the first chapter, that half an hour before the crime was perpetrated, a student boldly announced in the Aula, that Latour had been condemned by the Diet.

Another student, and to all appearance an Hungarian, declared, eight days before the perpetration of the deed, that Latour must needs die. He said this publicly, in a chop-house in the Schultergasse. And at noon, on the 6th October, the same student protested in the same house that "this was Latour's last day." On the following morning he boasted of the accuracy of his prediction.

Immediately after the termination of the contest at the Tabor, a student proceeded from thence to the city, and addressed the crowd which had collected at the entrance to the Prater, with the words, "By half-past four o'clock,

Latour must be hanged!" It appears from the evidence of numerous witnesses, that the assassination of the Secretary at War was publicly announced among the mob at the Tabor on the morning of the 6th October, and that it was said, "When we have done here, we must go back to the town, and Latour is the first who ought to be hanged."

A member of the Central Democratic Committee, too, mentioned the contemplated murder, at a private party, a few hours before its perpetration, and just before the crime was committed several students were seen hastening into the War Office, calling out and declaring that such an act had been resolved upon.

A mob, led by an engineer in the uniform of the Academical Legion, forced an entrance into the shop of a gunsmith, in the Bognergasse, opposite to the War Office. They took muskets, pistols, and swords, to the value of 4,345 florins, and, thus armed, they rushed into the War Office.

If it be considered that the Secretary at War received no less than five intimations and warnings of the fate which was in store for him, it becomes evident, that his death by the hands of assassins had in a manner become a public secret, in the city as well as in the suburbs.

Nor ought it to be forgotten, that various persons brought ropes to the War Office, and that during the assault, whenever the zeal of the mob seemed to slacken, well-dressed persons were found to rouse the popular fury by calling out that the Secretary at War ought to be hanged. All these facts prove that the crime was deliberately prepared and planned, and it is moreover worthy of notice, that the very preamble to the last will and testament of the victim, plainly expresses a foreboding of his wretched fate; for it shows that Latour was fully aware of the danger of his position, and the abandoned wickedness of that party against which he

stood up for order and right, to the sacrifice even of his own life.

Besides mentioning the perseverance of the engineer Rausch in the search after the Count Latour, the murderous zeal of the students, who inflamed the minds of the labourers and National Guards, and the impatience of the student Wedel, who "longed to get at him," several members of the Academical Legion have been identified amidst the crowd of assassins which thronged the courtyard.

One of these students forced an inactive spectator to arm himself with a cudgel, and another student, rushing forth from the circle of bandits, boasted, in a loud voice, that he, "too, had struck a blow at Latour."

Students were seen with the spoils of the War Office, viz., sword-belts and pieces of gold lace, &c., in their hands, which, they distributed among the people as tokens of victory.

On the evening of the 6th October, six members of the Academical Legion were seen standing under the gateway of the house 155, City, where they divided the plunder of the War Office, viz., a shagreen case, a watch, sundry maps, &c.; and Edward Merlitschek, the adjutant of Wutschel (who has since been sentenced for riot), was in possession of a sword which he obtained during the sacking, and which he used to designate as his "Latour sword." Another member of the Academical Legion, who received his death-wound at the time of the assault upon the arsenal, presented to his mistress a fragment of the star of the order which Count Latour wore, and which fragment, at a later period, was given up to the court-martial.

A crowd of students pierced Count Latour's uniform, &c., with bayonets; and holding them aloft, carried them to the Aula. The papers, &c., found in the count's apartment were likewise conveyed to the university building, when

they were given in charge of Habrowsky, the president of the committee of students.

Near the Aula, too, a torn piece of the murdered man's shirt was offered for sale at the price of two kreutzers; and everywhere, in the coffee-houses and on the barricades, the students proclaimed the perpetration of the crime with cheers and other signal manifestations of pleasure.

It was at the instigation of two students that several persons were ill treated and arrested for having expressed their disapprobation of the stripping of the corpse, as it hung at the lamp-post. One young man had a newspaper, "The German Eagle," affixed to the bleeding body; and these degenerate young men prevented even the cutting down of the hacked and mutilated body.

The blood of the victim was still reeking on the pavement when the student proposed another crime, viz., the assault upon the arsenal. Torches were lit and distributed among the people, and the notorious Dr. Becher was instructed by the commander of the Aula to attract the population of the country by rockets and other fiery signals from the tower of St. Stephen.

On the morning of the crime, the emissaries of the Aula made their appearance in the workshops of the Gloggnitz railway, in the factories, and among the navigators of the "Wiener Berg," for the purpose of collecting the labourers, and drawing them into the city. Many labourers refused to accompany them, but they returned in the afternoon of the same day, with drums and martial music, and having armed the labourers with spears, poles, and cudgels, they conducted them into the city, when they were drawn up around the university building. Led by the students, part of this misguided mob was afterwards sent into the various streets around the Aula, where they constructed barricades,

while those which remained near the university were told in so many words, that they ought to defend liberty by murder and assassination. Nor did the tempters forget to designate three persons who were to be the first victims of the misguided passions of the populace. It was then that the crowd of assassins hastened to the War Office, and when the crime was committed, they were seen flourishing their bloody weapons on their way back to the Aula, where they were paid for the work they had done on that day. And one of them, with his reeking spear, entered the board-room of the committee of students, recounting the details of the crime, and describing the manner in which he had pierced Latour's throat, and loudly asking, with unequalled effrontery, whether he had done the trick "in the right way?"

Nor are Wangler and Major the only persons who accuse the students as the originators and promoters of their misfortunes. The same complaint has been uttered by sundry others of the prisoners; and one of the accomplices (whom it was, however, impossible to convict) cursed the students, with great vehemence, for having seduced and tempted him. He said, "While they squandered the money which they got from Hungary, they have driven us poor labourers into death and desperation!"

After reading the evidence of Wangler and Jurkovich, and the statements made by Brambosch, Pawikausky, and Fischer, there can be no doubt that the assassins were paid by the Aula; and from the examination of another prisoner it appears that a reward of five florins was given for a cannon, which was captured at the Tabor, and taken to the Aula.

The deputy Borrosch, too, expressed his belief that Count Latour had been murdered by hired assassins. He pointed

out the striking similarity between this crime and that to which Count Lamberg fell a victim at Pesth, and he dwelt on the dogged perseverance with which the crowd, of about fifty or sixty persons, in its attack upon Latour, broke through the ranks of the guards who protected him.

This deputy expresses his opinion, that the people of the lower classes cannot be thought infected with political fanaticism. The people at large are indeed open to the feeling of HATRED; but even this feeling requires a large crowd to produce: many persons must co-operate and excite one another, and this did not happen in Latour's case; for Mr. Borrosch had addressed the people at the War Office, calmed their passion, and taken them to the place of St. Stephen. Scarcely twenty persons remained behind.

It is consequently evident, that the Aula was the moving centre of this crime, and its action produced the corresponding action of all the accessories to this fatal deed.

The young men who pursued their studies at Vienna, and who formed the bulk of the Academical Legion, were mixed up with a mass of heterogeneous and, for the greater part, impure elements. Clerks, lithographers, house-painters, barbers, writers, and actors of great arrogance and no talent; tramping adventurers, and the scum of foreign countries,—spiritual paupers—men whom no change could deprive of blessings which they did not possess, and whom every change *might* serve—these had made their way into the Academical Legion, and by their violence and recklessness, they lorded it over its councils, and directed its action. To these we must add the members of the various democratic associations, to whom agitation was a trade, and who at last succeeded in lowering the students of Vienna to the level of the prætorians of the revolution.

The superintendence of the associations of labourers by students, and especially by engineers, and the plan of sending agents to the factories and workshops, served to organize the labourers, and to keep them in a perpetual state of excitement and dependence upon the Legion. Hence the readiness with which these men assembled at the orders of the Aula, thus contributing to its importance, and stimulating its arrogance. The well-disposed among the workmen were awed by the terrorism of their fanatic companions; many were compelled to join the tumultuous processions, and to perpetrate crimes which they, in their hearts, abhorred.

Co-operating with the students, there were clubs of demagogues displaying their fatal activity and instilling the poison of their depraved doctrines into the minds of the population. They addressed themselves to the lowly and the ignorant, and it is to them we trace that excitement which bordered upon madness, which has been shown by the National Guards of the suburbs, but especially of the suburb of Wieden, where Tausenau and Chaisés established their head-quarters.

Lost alike to progress and improvement, they preached a crusade against the powers that be, and under the specious promise of a golden age, they advised the overthrow of all existing laws and conditions of society, hatred against property and possessions; for their ideal of a political society was the illegal reign of the strong hand. These were the men who sought for luxury in the general misery, and who make it difficult to say which was greater, the credulity of the crowd or the effrontery of its prophets.

The nearest and most feasible object of the leaders of the Radical party was the institution of a republic on the ruins of the dismembered monarchy. This is shown by the results of the closest inquiry, by their own statements, and by the pro-

testations of their printed publications. But it is an error to believe that the introduction of a republican form of government would have satisfied them, or that it would have terminated the revolution. No! very few indeed of the leaders were dupes and enthusiastic, or really believed that their boasted republic would tend to improve the condition and secure the welfare of the people. The majority of the men who guided the movement were impelled by nearer and more practical motives. Their object was more wicked and less visionary.

They agitated for a republic, as the most fitting arena for their selfish passions, and they prized that form of government, inasmuch as it favoured their interest, their lust of dominion, their greed, or their vanity. If they should have been disappointed in their expectations, they would have overthrown the republic as they overthrew the monarchy; for REVOLUTION was the only means which could ever invest them with a short-lived importance.

Middling writers, who looked upon political agitation as offering the most profitable career; men of great ambition and no merit,—bold of front, strong of lungs, and quick of tongue; worthless subalterns and would-be ministers; the avaricious, greedy, and iron-fisted, who looked upon the revolution and the general misery as a source of profit; spendthrifts, who, having run through their fortunes, felt a desire to defray the expenses of their disgraceful career by means of the public purse; adventurers, and men of tainted character: such is the list of those who presumed to overthrow the fabric of the state, and to amuse the misguided crowd with their phantasmagorias of popular sovereignty and republican blessedness.

Several of these men had the candour to confess that they carried matters to the last extreme, because they had reason

to fear that they would be hanged. It is worthy of remark that the usher of the Central Committee of all the democratic associations has stated, that these gentlemen, on their own showing, appeared to him a set of great egotists, who sought to overthrow the government, because they wished themselves to govern.

The tools and champions of the movement were very much of the same stamp as the masters; agitation was to them neither more nor less than a profitable trade, and an easy means of gaining their livelihood. To take an instance out of many, we state the case of two Jewish captains of the *garde mobile*, who were captured after the conquest of the city, and who, when asked for an account of themselves, stated that they were "Börsianer," or stock-brokers. When asked how they had been induced to enter their military career, they both candidly confessed, that the suspension of mercantile operations having interfered with their usual occupation, they had thought proper to accept of an offer of a captaincy, with a pay of 6 florins per diem.

The germs of that most terrible of all despotisms, the despotism of the mob, were clearly visible on the 6th October; but from that day forward they developed themselves with an alarming energy.

The judicial inquiry has shown, that even before the murder was committed, various persons of all classes were, under the most ridiculous pretences (as, for instance, on account of their dress), seized in the streets, ill-treated, and incarcerated in the Aula or in the Civic Arsenal. In the presence of the terrible events in the War Office, indifference and inactivity were considered as a crime, and in the course of the following days it was an act of signal courage for an honest man to show his face in the streets. Even the domestic hearth offered no protection, for many instances are

on record of peaceable and even of decrepit and aged people, who were forcibly arrested by the armed mob, and pressed into the service of the revolution. It is a gross mistake to believe that the higher and wealthier classes of the population alone emigrated from Vienna. On the contrary, people who had nothing which they could call their own, fled (in spite of the assurance of the Diet that Vienna was tranquil) from their homes, to escape from the arbitrary dictates of brute strength, and from the dangers of a city, in which a word or a look sufficed to arouse the vindictive spirit of the populace.

Already was the reign of terror preparing; the heads of parties were already commencing the contest for the reins of government; lists of proscriptions were making; a crowd of victims from the very ranks of the Radicals were destined to share the fate of the Secretary at War, and nothing remained of liberty but the mere shadow, when the tottering fabric of the state was sustained by the arms of the loyal army.

But more effective even than the clubs, for the purposes of the revolutionists, was the press. This mighty engine was in the hands of selfish and venal partisans, who used it for the purpose of murder and destruction, and the poison of a hellish doctrine was circulated by a host of publications. It took effect; and in the very lowest classes, especially, it produced a brutalization of mind, of which it is next to impossible to form any adequate idea.

The rude and ignorant were told, that dependence on legal power was oppression and slavery; that property interfered with their welfare; that they ought to take their fortune into their own hands; that they were entitled to oppose, and that they had a right to make armed resistance.

Such teaching soon induced them to become familiar even with crime.

On the other hand, the licentious liberty of the press, with a mere nominal press-law, opened a wide breach to an irruption of private malice and calumny; licentious and egotistical writers had it in their power to defame any character, and (as will be shown presently) to draw public animosity upon the devoted heads of their antagonists. Nor was there a remedy. The power of the state was paralyzed by terrorism, and actions for libel could not be thought of.

The diaries and other writings found in the possession of several culprits, display a confusion of ideas which borders upon insanity. Young men, and indeed mere boys, tutored by this street literature, showed a precocity of depravity, which awakens pity for the lot of their parents.

An artisan of the suburb of Wieden, when arrested, and when part of his own bloodthirsty letter was read to him, fell on his knees, and protested, with sobs and lamentations, that he had been maddened by the reading of the street newspapers; that he had at last come to doubt his own existence, &c. &c.

The navigators of the Southern Railway, who in the month of March were animated with the best spirit, were not proof against the seduction of the communistic newspaper. They became disorderly, rebellious, and, at length, they actually terrorized their overseers. One of the foremen, who disturbed them in a serenade of "rough music," came to be a special object of their hatred. They entered his house and demolished his furniture, and when he entered the workshop, they seized him, and endeavoured to fling him into the furnace. He was at length rescued by the intervention of some other men.

A variety of similar instances of cruelty and barbarism are recorded in the acts of the inquiry into the riots of the 21st and 23rd of August, 1848.

Inflammatory publications were found in the possession of almost all the accessories to the murder. Some had large bundles of these papers, and the influence of these publications is so manifest, that we may say these men fell victims to the liberty of the press. And let it be remembered that all these instances refer to one inquiry, and to only one crime of the many, which were committed in that fatal time.

As if following up a pre-concocted plan, we behold in August, and still more in September, the Aula, the clubs, and the Radical press directing their attacks and aspersions with still increasing vehemence against the Secretary at War. Their accusations become daily more violent, and betray a desire to make Count Latour an object of public animosity.

As the fatal day approaches, the language of the demagogues grows more clear and distinct. No longer do they speak of overthrowing the cabinet or Latour. No! they designate him as the victim—as one doomed to death—and thus they attempt to foist their disgraceful revenge upon the people at large.

The *Constitution* newspaper, of the 4th October, reprimands the people and the Diet. It protests that Count Latour ought not to be allowed to continue at large; and the *Studentine Courier*, of the same date,* publishes a song, "*à la lanterne*," in which the assassination of the aristocracy is recommended as a sacred duty.

But that the real gist of the question might be a secret to no man, the *Wiener Krakelder* published, with the motto: "A few days before the Borrosch and Löhner Cabinet," the figures of three members of the actual ministry, suspended from a

* M. Oscar Falke, the editor of this publication, has been prosecuted for various swindling transactions which he committed in the canton of Neufchâtel. Warrants were out for his apprehension.

gallows ; Count Latour was one of the three ministers. This, then, was the programme of the 6th October, and this publication was openly sold in the streets of Vienna.

That this fatal seed fell on a fruitful soil is clearly shown by the example of Joseph Bartholomew Stapf, a foreman of the navigators, in the Brünndelfeld, who has since been condemned for riot and rebellion. A few days before the murder, this man read to his fellow-labourers an infamous libel against the Secretary at War, and on one of the labourers asking whether no rope or bullet could be found for Latour, he produced his purse, saying "that this was money, and though a rope for Latour might cost as much as one florin, he would find the money to pay for it ; that Latour ought to be hanged, and that some bold fellow could easily be found who would tie him up for a hundred ducats."

At midnight, on the 6th October, the same Joseph Stapf repaired from the Arsenal, where it is supposed he committed arson, and led the assault to the "Hof," and placing himself in front of Latour's body as it hung on the lamp-post, he cried out : "So you see, my fine fellows, things have, after all, turned out according to my wish !"

In the face of these facts the chief of the assassins presumed to speak of popular hatred to which the Secretary at War fell a victim. And yet it is notorious that several of the condemned culprits have protested that, had it not been for the ceaseless agitations against Latour, they would never have thought of him, much less would they have hurt him. Certain it is, that one-half of the agitation which was set on foot against the Secretary at War, would have sufficed to devote the most popular of the party chiefs of that time to the same fate.

The scenes and facts which we have recorded are a general explanation of the event of the 6th October and partly of

the assassination of the minister; for they testify to the existence of a party, which, in intimate correspondence with similar parties abroad, and especially in Germany, and emboldened by the events of the 15th and 26th of May, and of the 23rd August and 13th September, 1848, watched its opportunity and snatched at every pretence for fresh riots, partly because the revolution had come to be a vital principle of its unnatural position, and partly in the hope of compassing, by any means, however bad they might be, their object, viz., the dissolution of the monarchy.

It is quite natural that this party, supported as it was by the Left of the Diet, the chiefs of the democratic clubs, and the leaders of the Aula, should strain every nerve to overthrow the existing cabinet, whose energetic opposition against its intrigues it had reason to fear; and it is not less natural that its attacks should have been specially directed against the Secretary at War, for he was the chief of the army, and it was he who, in the sitting of the Diet of the 13th September, directed public attention to the intrigues of the Aula. Nor can it be wondered at, if we consider the stores of inflammatory matter in the minds of men, that the senseless and fatuous multitude was so easily goaded on to rebellion, and even to murder. This is proved by contemporaneous events in foreign countries, and by the demonstrations against the Count Montecuccoli and Baron Doblhof and others at Vienna.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that there were many who desired the overthrow of the government, but who were not prepared to sanction the assassination of Count Latour; and that others, although willing to accept of the result of the crime, cannot, from a legal point of view, be considered as its accessories. In the eyes of the judge, the promoters of the assassination are confined to a narrow

sphere, and even of them, the names of many are still hid in obscurity. But though in this respect the law may command caution and reserve, there is no reason why we should deal tenderly with the real promoters and instigators of the crime.

In tracing a crime home to its perpetrators, the question naturally arises, "Who could profit by the deed?" It is a useful question; but never was it more useful than in the present instance.

The state of public affairs in Hungary was the immediate cause of the event of the 6th October, and the faction which had usurped the government of that country, may safely boast of having, within eight days, directed the poniards of hired assassins against two men, whose only crime was, that they were obstacles in the way of the insane lust of dominion of a man who knew how to dazzle the misguided multitude with a show of patriotism, and who, if need be, would not have hesitated to cut his way to the dictatorship through the corpses of his own adherents.

It is a remarkable feature in the public life of this political actor, that he promotes his selfish objects by exciting the lowest passions of humanity, and that the calculations for his plans are based upon the avarice, sensuality, egotism,—in short, upon the vices of mankind. Kossuth owes his successes rather to the judicious practice of this principle, than to his hypocrisy and his oratorical talents.

As a proof of this assertion, we remind our readers of the events (in September, 1848) at Buda and Pesth, where enormous sums were expended to bribe the garrison.

The inroad and the rapid advance of the Ban of Croatia, threatened the most serious dangers to Kossuth's party.

A deputation which, on the 7th September, was sent from Pesth to the Emperor, with the most outrageous demands,

failed to accomplish its object. On the 19th of the same month, another attempt was made with a second deputation, which obtained the co-operation of the Austrian Diet for the promotion of certain illegal and dangerous objects.

This attempt, too, proved abortive, and the danger became more imminent.

On the 22nd and 25th of September the two royal manifestoes were published. They convinced Kossuth and his partisans that the Emperor and his government were determined energetically to oppose their intrigues.

Field-Marshal Lieutenant the Count Lamberg, a royal commissioner, arrived at Buda, and the Ban of Croatia, who threatened the city, was preparing to stifle the rebellion in its cradle.

To paralyze his antagonists by terror, to spread confusion among their ranks, it was thought fit to have recourse to "saving deeds;" and the motto of the master, not "to shrink from the assistance even of hell," was now carried into practice.

On the 28th September, Count Lamberg fell under the daggers of hired assassins; but his death wrought no change in the situation of the parties, for the Emperor's manifesto, of the 3rd October, appointed the Ban of Croatia in Lamberg's place. It was then that the Hungarian conspirators turned to their brethren and allies at Vienna. They were worthy of the confidence thus reposed in them.

The connection between the agitators of Hungary and those of Vienna commenced in August, 1848. On the 5th September the first Hungarian deputation received the formal promises of the Aula. The students supported the creation of a free corps for Hungary, and some of them proceeded to Pesth, where one student took part in the assassination of Count Lamberg.

The demagogues of Vienna were meanwhile preparing to strike a decisive blow ; they gained over part of the National Guard ; the leaders of the democratic associations formed a Central Committee, and, as though on the eve of a battle, they held a secret council of war on the 5th October.

On the following morning the march of the Richter Grenadiers became the longed-for signal for a revolt, and the Secretary at War fell as the second victim of Kossuth's policy.

The intercepted correspondence between the Ban and the Secretary at War, of which Szemere sent 600 copies to Vienna, which were distributed among the deputies who had been gained over to the Hungarian party, furnished the Diet, as well as the demagogues of the clubs and the Aula, with a welcome excuse for interpellations, orations, and inflammatory articles, by which they still further excited that hatred and animosity, which the rulers at Pesth wished to attend upon the devoted head of Count Latour.

Even Schütte, the republican, admits that the secret causes of the Vienna revolution of October are most incomprehensible, and, indeed, it must appear inexplicable to every man of candid mind, that, considering the notoriety and the scandal of the Hungarian question, the Radical press should have dared so grossly to impose upon the public, and to adopt a tone of language which amounted to treason.

But as to the motives which prompted this inexplicable conduct on the part of the Vienna press, they are most plainly shown by the correspondence and the minutes of the transactions of the Hungarian Cabinet, and of several chiefs of factions.

A letter of the 2nd August, 1848, which Kossuth (then Minister of Finance) addressed to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Francis Pulszky (then at Vienna), instructs Mr. Pulszky to pay 400 florins per quarter to

those persons who advocate the interests of Hungary in the Vienna periodical press; and in a letter dated of the 17th September, the President of the Cabinet, Count Batthyany, informs the said Mr. Pulszky, that if he wanted a couple of thousand of florins to gain the sympathies of the Viennese for Hungary, he (the said Mr. Pulszky) ought to draw upon N. the banker, for any amount he required for the said purpose.

And it appears from Mr. Pulszky's official cash-book, that, referring to the above-mentioned letter, he drew upon the count to the amount of 2,828 florins. From the same cash-book it appears, that before and after the 6th of October, sundry sums of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 florins were paid to various Hungarian agents at Vienna, as well as to sundry periodical writers and editors of newspapers; the sums are entered, with the dates of payment and the names of the parties who received them; and it is expressly stated, that such sums were paid "for advocating the Hungarian interest in the press."

Among the items in the same cash-book, we find travelling expenses for students; fees paid to editors for consultations; and travelling expenses for the Hungarian guards who deserted from Vienna. And now let it be considered, that the total of the expenses of the Hungarian ministerial chancellery, under Mr. Pulszky's direction, amounted in September (we quote from Mr. Pulszky's own books) to 92,810 florins, and in October to 41,477 florins, and that in September we may take off a sum of 12,000 florins, which was for regular and *bonâ fide* expenses, while for October, the regular expenses amounted to 5,756 florins, while the remainder of the sums above quoted were expended in the purchase of weapons, and other revolutionary outlays. Let it also be remembered, that in

his letter of the 11th October, Kossuth authorized Pulszky to devote the whole of his cash in hand, and, if need be, the proceeds of a loan, which he was instructed to raise, to the promotion of the interests of Hungary; and that as late as the 10th December, 1848, the sum of 10,000 florins is credited to the Magyar agency at Vienna. These considerations convince us that the Hungarian Committee of Defence took the most effectual means to revive the sympathies of the Viennese for Hungary. According to the candid confession of the Radical papers, these sympathies had considerably cooled. Even an influential member of the opposition in the Diet declared that "it was impossible to say that no one had taken money or money's worth;" and the above revelations go far to amplify that admission.

But that the Hungarian party, co-operating with its Viennese allies, took part in the execution of the details, is sufficiently proved by various notes and memoranda which were found in the possession of Mr. Pulszky's secretary at Vienna. One of these documents records the payment of eight florins to each of fifteen grenadiers of the Battalion Richter, who deserted to the people at the Tabor. The total of the sum which these men received was 120 florins. To this we may add, the quarterly salaries to the Vienna Radical press; the wages which were paid at the Aula for a cannon which was taken at the Tabor; a subsidy of thirty florins for the assassin Jurkovich; and by so doing we obtain an official quotation of the prices of the glorious deeds of the 6th of October. The wages of "an incendiary at the arsenal" have not yet transpired, for the corresponding column in the record has been left a blank.

Mr. Pulszky's secretary, to whom we adverted above, boasts in a letter which he addressed to Paul Nyary (dated

9th October, 1848), that he had succeeded, with some trouble and much danger, to foment a mutiny among part of the troops, which, on the 6th October, were to march from Vienna to Presburg; and that in consequence of this manœuvre the people had defeated a signal scheme of the reactionary party, while "Nemesis" had at length overtaken Latour.

In his examination, the writer of the above letter designates his chief, Pulszky, as a leader of the Vienna movement, who had frequently ordered him to pay sums of money to students, &c. He also admits that he carried on an intercourse with Fenneberg (who received money), with the Committee of Students, and with the editors of the Radical papers.

It appears, moreover, from official documents, that on the 5th July, 1848, the Secretary at War, Count Latour, informed the Hungarian Cabinet, that he had thought proper to provide the military chest at Agram with a sum of 100,000 florins. He demanded that the Hungarian Cabinet should repay that sum, and that for the future, an annual allowance should be made for the keep of the Croatian troops. The Hungarian Cabinet refused to comply with this demand.

This circumstance explains the nugatory character of the accusations which, at a later period, were made against Latour.

In a note of the 18th September, Count Batthyany instructs Mr. Pulszky to proceed to Count Latour, and to demand his immediate compliance with certain extravagant demands respecting the troops, lest the Hungarian Cabinet should be compelled to have recourse to "other means." And on the 30th August, Kossuth informs Pulszky that a certain member of the Austrian Diet was prepared to impeach the

aggressive policy which the Government had adopted against Hungary, but that he wanted dates, facts, and other materials. Kossuth communicates some of these dates.

The very member of the Austrian Diet, who served Kossuth with such signal readiness and zeal, was adjured on the 6th October by Adjutant Niewiadomski, who afterwards addressed M. Strohbach himself, to aid Count Latour, who was then being murdered by the mob. His entreaties were of course disregarded.

The said member states, that he suffered at the time from a spasmodic attack in the heart, and that he cannot remember that such a demand was made to him. It is, however, satisfactory to know, that the spasm, if any, must have been of very short duration; for the said deputy was almost immediately afterwards able to take a very prominent part in the debate on the assassination of the Secretary at War.

It appears from official documents, that on the 4th September the Austrian Cabinet complained to that of Hungary about the recruiting for an Hungarian free corps, which Meszaros caused to be carried on in the capital; and on the 13th September the Austrian Cabinet demands that the licentious conduct of the Hungarian agent shall be restricted, lest the recruits might be employed to revolutionize the capital.

A collective note of the Austrian ministers (dated 29th June) shows that the organs of the Hungarian Government then, as at a later period, were repeatedly but vainly invited to consent to an arrangement of the various interests in the spirit of the Pragmatic Sanction, and divers documents prove the activity of the Hungarian agents in Vienna as well as in foreign countries.

The papers found at Pesth furnish us with further revela-

tions concerning the intimate connection between the Hungarian and Austrian demagogues.

With the motto, "The greater the need, the nearer the help!" we have a printed proclamation, signed by Paul Hajnik, the chief of the police. It informs the Hungarians of the Viennese events, and the death of the Secretary at War, and it lays great stress on the fact that "Hungary" was a popular cry in Vienna.

Alexander Niczky, a Government commissioner, announces from Oedenburg (dated 6th October), the events of Vienna, which, he is pleased to say, are very favourable for Hungary. He adds, that the Viennese friends of the Hungarians, and the deserters from the grenadiers, had routed the "black-yellows."

Ladislaus Csany, writing to Kossuth, on the 7th and 8th October, states that he had sent three couriers to Pesth, with very good news from Vienna. He declared, that at length darkness had been succeeded by light; that the enemies of Hungary had found obstacles in their path, of the existence of which they had never dreamed; that every effort ought to be made still more to humble them; and that rapid and energetic measures ought to be adopted by the Hungarian Cabinet. He (Csany) was glad that he had done his best to rouse the "Aula," and he added, that he inclosed Pulszky's report of the events at Vienna.

Pulszky's report is dated from Oedenburg, of the 7th October, and it commences by stating, that the democratic Hungarian party had obtained a complete victory. After recording the events of the day, and making especial mention of the Aula, he concludes by stating that he left Vienna at night, after the attack on the arsenal, and that, accompanied by Louis Batthyany, he was hastening to the camp at Vidos, to fetch the troops; for that it was absolutely necessary to attack Jellacic.

On the 9th October, we have a letter from Csany, at Altenburg, to his friend Kossuth, informing him that the Vienna Aula had sent a plenipotentiary to him (Csany), and that he was preparing to send the said plenipotentiary to Pesth. He adds, that the zeal of the Academic Legion was quite refreshing to behold, that the Vienna Democratic Club relied on assistance to Germany, and that the Legion, as well as the club, ought to be tenderly dealt with. He also adds, that Pulszky has informed him, from Oedenburg, that Batthyany, too, was of opinion, that Jellacic ought to be driven to Vienna, and that he (Csany) was despatching directions to that effect. He (Csany) thought it his duty to allude to several persons of rank in Hungary, who were seriously compromised by certain letters which were found among the papers of Latour. He states, that M. Tausenau refused to communicate the original copies of these letters to all who were not of the very *élite* (vertrauteste männer), and that he (Csany) would consequently send his signet-ring, as a token that the letters might safely be shown.

Csany also adds a written account of the Viennese events, according to the statement of Dr. Reiner, the plenipotentiary of the Aula, whose travelling expenses were paid by Pulszky. The said account states, that Tausenau, when informed that troops were about to be sent from Vienna into Hungary, consulted with the leaders of the Aula, and resolved, at any risk, to prevent the troops from marching. Various means were taken to effect this purpose, and the mistresses (mädchen) of the grenadiers in particular were bribed to induce their lovers to remain. It is further stated, that negotiations were carried on between the Aula and the grenadiers; that the latter declared, that they could not in common decency refuse to obey the order to march; and that they suggested the propriety of the students and the people proceeding

to the railroad and destroying the rails. This plan was finally adopted. When the troops, excited by bribes of money and wine, commenced their march, they were addressed by the National Guards of the suburbs, and the mob at large, who besought them to remain at Vienna.

They were further moved and inspired by the tears and entreaties of their mistresses (mädchen), who accompanied their march. When they arrived at the station, they were addressed by Willner, a student, who besought them to remain, and who, addressing General Bredy, insisted on the return of the troops. But when the General, regardless of his menaces, gave the word of command for the troops to march, he (the General), Lieutenant-Colonel Klein, and a major, were shot dead on the spot.

The report, in its description of the conflict in the city (previous to the murder), states that the deputy Goldmark proposed to storm the arsenal, and to arrest Latour. It is further stated that the insurrection of the Aula was promoted by Lieutenant Kuchenbäcker, who protested that 14,000 German soldiers were prepared to join the rebellion.

The evidence taken at this stage of the proceedings confirms all the above details respecting the tampering with the grenadiers by means of money, wine, and venal women, as well as the distribution of printed bills, entreating the soldiers to desert; the intrigues of a certain member of the Left in the Diet, the appearance (in the night of the 5th) of several grenadiers in the Aula; the intrigues of the engineers among the National Guards of the Wieden, for the purpose of retaining the soldiers, and the events on the march and at the Tabor.

Nor ought it to be forgotten that several members of the Diet employed the most dishonourable means for their party purposes. M. Kudlich, a deputy, who assisted Tausenau in

exciting the people and the troops by speeches, wine, and promises, pledged, in addressing the commander of the grenadiers, his honour for what he knew to be an untruth. He asserted that he was sent by the Diet to publish their resolution, that the march should not take place. And M. Max Joseph Gritzner, a deputy, engaged Lieutenant-Colonel Klein in a conversation, and thus diverted his attention from the proceedings of the mob, while he motioned to the populace behind him to make a rush upon, and to capture the artillery.

At a later period, on the 15th October, when M. Kudlich sought to assemble the Landsturm at Königstätten, he protested that the events of the 6th of October had been contrived for the purpose of helping the Hungarians out of their scrape.

This attempt, too, to organize the Landsturm in Austria, had its origin in Kossuth's instructions, as is shown by his correspondence with his agents at Vienna, viz., Pulszky, Stephen Gorove, L. Czernatovy, and others.

If, in addition to these facts, we consider his persevering influence (as shown by the same correspondence) in determining the resistance of the Viennese against the Emperor's troops; if it be considered that Kossuth, writing from Presburg (30th October) to the Committee of Defence, protests, that in the battle of Schwechat Hungary had paid the debt due to the Viennese, and that in another letter (3rd November) he expresses a hope that the Aula (as Bem had informed him) would join his army; if it be further considered, that on the 3rd October he instructed his commissioner, M. Sebastian Vukovich, to seize Latour's property in the counties of Temes and Torontal, because it was "Latour who caused the war in Hungary;" and if we consider, lastly, that on the evening of the 6th October, and immediately after the

murder, the committee of the democrats and students sent a petition to the Diet, praying for an amnesty for the murderers of Latour, the repeal of the manifesto of the 3rd Oct., and the dismissal of the Ban from all his offices; and if it be considered, that the Left of the Diet presumed to embody this petition in an address to the Emperor, we say, if all these facts are well weighed, they must remove every shadow of a doubt as to the predominating influence which Kossuth's faction had on the assassination of the Secretary at War.

We have, moreover, the evidence of the criminals and of the witnesses. Rausch, who is accused of taking part in the crime, affirms that after the murder, the students generally designated Tausenau as having assisted Pulszky in causing the events of the 6th October. The students informed Rausch that Tausenau had collected Latour's papers, and that he had taken them to the Aula, and that he had, moreover (previous to the murder), excited the labourers with wine, speeches, and money. Rausch adds, that the fanaticism of the students could never have gone to such length, had not the Radical deputies done their utmost to promote it. Professor Füster, in particular, is named, as a man whose glowing orations (which Rausch believes to have been prompted by impure means) served to goad the students on to the maddest acts of excitement.

Rausch, moreover, designates the Messrs. Goldmark, Violand, Kudlich, and Fischhof, and others, as the persons who, during the siege of Vienna, supported the defence by their inflammatory speeches.

It appears, also, from the evidence of a foreman of the labourers, that Pulszky, who used to attend the sittings of the Democratic Club in the hotel "Zur Ente," distributed large sums of money among the labourers, to induce them to be in readiness whenever they might be wanted. The same

witness states, that it was Pulszky who first started the plan of the *garde mobile*.

M. Aigner, the commander of the Academical Legion, expressed his opinion that the assassination of Latour had been caused by the Hungarians, and especially by Tausenau, Chaisés, and Pulszky. This, he said, was the opinion of all the students.

Habrowsky, too, the president of the Committee of Students, who at a later period went frequently into the camp of the Hungarians, is designated as having co-operated towards the events of the 6th October, for the benefit of the Hungarians.

When the witness (viz. Aigner) met Tausenau and Chaisés in the Students' Committee after the 6th October, he was extremely disgusted, and insisted on their expulsion. In support of his view as to the originators of the assassination, this witness states, that eight days previously, two Hungarians, one of whom he afterwards remarked as adjutant to Bem, came to him at night, and asked him to send two companies of students to the frontier between Hungary and Moravia, where they were to fight against Hurban. Witness refused to comply with this request, and he reported the case to the minister Baron Dobblhof. He is moreover of opinion that the Hungarians caused the events of the 13th September; and here it may not be amiss to state, that among Pulszky's papers a note was found from Habrowsky, which contained the laconic statement that "everything was being provided for."

Another influential member of the Academical Legion affirms, from his own knowledge and conviction, that Tausenau frequently conversed with Pulszky, and that, by the favour of Habrowsky, Pulszky, Chaisés, and Dr. Becher were allowed to attend the secret sittings of the Committee of

Students. This witness believes that Tausenau, Chaisés, and perhaps Silberstein, were the only persons who were aware of, and who directed, the plot against the life of Count Latour, while public opinion fixes the same charge upon the democrats, Dr. Schütte, Becher, L. Eckardt, and Dr. G. Frank.

A few days after the death of Latour, this witness saw Tausenau taking the papers of the Secretary at War, tied up in a handkerchief, from the Students' Committee-room to his own house. Several of the papers were afterwards published in the *Radicale*, edited by Becher. Witness also heard Dr. Schütte boasting of his correspondence with Kossuth, who had pledged his word to assert the democratic principle in Hungary, after the termination of the contest. And lastly, this witness deposes that Fenneberg and Kuchenbäcker offered to join the Legion on the 6th October, and that they were accepted. This last statement is confirmed by Fenneberg's own pamphlet, containing an account of the events of the 6th October. In this work the author candidly admits, if it had been possible to capture M. Bach, the minister, on that fatal day, that he would have shared the fate of Latour.

It appears, from the depositions of a waiter to the Central Democratic Club (this club was, according to Dr. Schütte, the centre of the October movement), that immediately after the murder, several of the assassins made their appearance at the club; that they reported the event; that the democrats applauded them, and had much secret conversation with them; and that afterwards several of the assassins were mentioned as acquaintances by the members of the Democratic Club.

One of the two vice-presidents of the Committee of Students affirms that that Committee was gradually influenced,

and at length altogether directed, by the Democratic Club, and particularly by Tausenau, Becher, Jellinek, and Schütte, and that the motions and proposals of these persons were generally discussed in the secret sittings of the committee. The same witness states that the said club, by transferring its sittings to the hotel "Zur Ente," managed to intrude upon the Legion, and that several of its members were finally elected as members of the Committee of Students. He adds, that there can be no doubt of the fact that Tausenau and his friends used their influence in favour of the Hungarians, and that Chaisés and Jellinek sought to effect a fusion between the Democratic Club and the Committee of Students. And further, that immediately after the news of the murder reached the committee, Löwenstein proposed to storm the arsenal, and that Fenneberg, Kuchenbäcker, and Hauk offered to lead the assault.

He also states that, in the course of the day, Goldmark, Füster, and Violand made their appearance in the committee; that Goldmark urged the students to expel the troops from the town, and that Füster informed them of the advance of the Ban to Wieselburg; but that he protested that there was no reason to fear the Ban, because he was conquered, and a fugitive.

A few days after the murder, the manager of Eurich and Klopf's printing-house told witness that he had been instructed to discontinue the printing of Latour's papers, and that he had been ordered to return them to Habrowsky.

Another witness, who was very candid in his confession (he was an engineer, and member of the Students' Committee), states that Tausenau, Chaisés, Habrowsky, Löwenstein, and Eckardt were bribed by the Hungarian party. In the case of Habrowsky, he proves this assertion. He states also that, after the 6th October, even persons of Radical

principles, such as Wutschel for instance, expressed their horror and disgust of these persons to their very faces; and that, as the murderers of Latour, they were not allowed to remain in the committee. And also that of these persons it had been generally known that they had promoted the crime, and approved of its perpetration. After Latour's death, it was often discussed in the Students' Committee whether or not the papers of the Secretary at War ought not to be taken away from Tausenau. The same witness reveals sundry important facts concerning Goldmark, and he proves that this person was subsidized by Pulszky, who paid him for his agitation in favour of Hungary. Goldmark influenced the Students' Committee, and he represented it in the Diet. It was he who prompted the students to violent resolutions, which he himself scrupled to agitate in public; such as the organization of the Landsturm, the appeal to the Hungarians, &c.

During the siege of the town, this witness and his friend Wanitschke (who has been arrested, and who testified to the truth of the following statements) were engaged by Goldmark to proceed to Prague, for the purpose of exciting the Slavonian clubs and the populace of that city against the Government. Goldmark gave them sixty florins towards their travelling expenses, and also a passport, which was signed by Fischhof, and impressed with the seal of the Diet. He made them promise to report their success to him. Having pledged their word to this effect, the two students took the money, but considering that it was rather a small sum for an Hungarian subsidy, they applied to the Students' Committee, and eventually received another sum of forty florins. They did not however proceed to Prague, but remained at Vienna; for they had reason to believe that the commission was dangerous.

Andreas Schumacher, a public writer, who has since been

sentenced, states that on the morning of the 6th October he came to the Aula, where he found 300 students under the command of Wutschel. None of them knew what was to be done; but of a sudden Goldmark made his appearance. He inspected the detachment, and confronting witness (Schumacher), he seemed as if about to make an important communication; but stopping himself suddenly, he said: "Never mind!—I dare say you will know your own business best when you are out there!" And on witness's question, Where? Mr. Goldmark replied, "At the Tabor."

In the afternoon Schumacher watched the doings of the Aula. Everything was in commotion. At half-past 2 P.M., a large mob of armed navigators proceeded up the Bäckerstrasse. One of the students joined them, took the lead, and marched them away. The contest commenced immediately afterwards.

Schumacher protests that Goldmark and Fischhof were the chief leaders of the University and of the Vienna Democrats; that they aimed at the destruction of Austria; that they co-operated with Kossuth; and that to them the revolution of October was but a means for an end. He protests that Kossuth went for something even in the movement of March.

Two officers of the Vienna National Guard state that, on the afternoon of the 6th October, Goldmark addressed them on St. Michael's Place. He said things went on well, and if the National Guard held out, they would get the better of the troops in less than a quarter of an hour. He likewise accused the witnesses of idling about.

A member of the association of Vienna Democrats deposes that this association was in constant correspondence with similar societies in Frankfort, Munich, and Gratz, and that it tended to convert the states of Europe into a federal

republic, after the defeat and overthrow of the dynasties. As the chiefs of this association he designates Tausenau, Becher, and others; and as leaders of the October revolution, he quotes Goldmark, Füster, Fischhof, and Kudlich; and the agents Bem, Schütte, Blum, Fröbel, and Gritzner.

In the case of a final victory, it was resolved to establish a provisional government from the members of the extreme Left; Goldmark, Fischhof, Violand, Füster, and Fröbel were designated as presidents.

He states that Goldmark and Fischhof were the cause of the bloodshed after the capitulation. For when Habrowsky returned from the Hungarian camp, and informed them that Kossuth would attack the Imperialists, these two persons, accompanied by Blum and Fröbel, ascended the tower of St. Stephen, and on their descent they informed the crowd that the Hungarians were fighting bravely, and that Vienna ought to hold out; whereupon the populace, uttering savage shouts, resumed the arms, which the majority had already resigned.

Respecting the proposed presidency of Justinia Fröbel, the *Gassen Caitung*, of the 26th September, contains an article which explains the confidence which that person enjoyed.

This article states how this amiable man takes his leave from his friends, the democrats, and, as though foreseeing that important events would occur during his absence, he, after expressing his joy at the late alliance with the Magyars, and recommending the greatest centralization of the Vienna Radical associations, concludes his oration by protesting, "that the real revolution was yet to come; that hitherto it had been a child's play; that the time was at hand when a few lives would go for nothing; and that he hoped the Vienna democrats would not be idle in that time." We need scarcely say that this speech was violently cheered.

Dr. Albert Trampusch, a member of the Frankfort parliament, who has since received his sentence, expresses his opinion that the Vienna movement was not general, but that it originated with Tausenau and his set, and that Tausenau was a despicable person, who caused riots for money, never once caring what harm he might do. The said witness also states that Pulszky had frequent interviews with Tausenau, Chaisées, and Becher, and sometimes with Blum, and that it was Pulszky who distributed the money to the students. It was impossible to quote the sums; but the fact had been generally believed and canvassed.

Dr. L. Fränkel, too, who was tried by court-martial, expressed his conviction that the October movement was caused by the Hungarians. He states that in September, an Hungarian deputation, led by Balogh, entered the Vienna Democratic Association, and that Balogh, in an inflammatory oration, urged the necessity of a co-operation between the democrats of Hungary and Vienna. His words took effect, and Eckardt and others were sent to Pesth. And further; that when the second Hungarian deputation to the Diet arrived at Vienna, Balogh again addressed the democratic associations, and the treaty of alliance was further confirmed.

Fränkel, too, was present when, on the 5th October, in the "Sperl Hotel," in the Leopoldstadt suburb, Tausenau was publicly accused of being paid by the Hungarians. On this occasion, a person of the name of Tillenberg told Tausenau, he (Tillenberg) knew that he (Tausenau) had received 2,000 florins in a letter from Pesth; and Tausenau, when called upon for his answer, protested that this was not a place for explanations. After this, witness left the room; on the following day he was told by some friends who remained, that Eckardt proposed to prevent the march of the grenadiers, and that divers democrats, then and there assem-

bled, proceeded to the Gumpendorf barracks to assure the grenadiers of the assistance of the National Guards. As a means of gaining the sympathies of the people, these democrats took with them a woman who was taught to curse, howl, and lament in a very shocking manner, with many loud protests that her brother, a soldier, was being flogged to death in the barracks, because he and his comrades refused to march against the Hungarians.

In the Democratic Association, too, Fränkel heard Tausenau protesting that Latour and Bach ought to be hanged; for which he stated his reasons at some length. Fränkel says, that in this manner the mass of the democrats were made familiar with the idea of political murders; and he also believes that sundry members of the Diet had a hand in the plot, but especially Goldmark and Füster, of whom Fränkel was told, by various persons, that early on the 6th October, they came to the Aula to arrange the proceedings of the day. He says that Goldmark and Fischhof were the most intimate friends of Tausenau, and that they had always been with him and with Violand, Becher, and Frank.

To enable our readers to form a correct opinion of the connection which Balogh, an Hungarian deputy, and afterwards major of the Honved, entertained with the agitators at Vienna, we ought to state, that, according to the records of the court-martial at Pesth, the murderers of Count Lamberg were traced home to Balogh, George Kolosy, and Kossuth. These three persons excited the Hungarian Parliament on and before the 28th September, 1848, by protesting that Count Lamberg was guilty of high treason; and by these protests they gave him up to the assassins, while a person named Danes (an ex-usher at the school for the blind, dismissed for seduction of youth, and profligacy), who it is thought was an agent of Kossuth, addressed the people out

of doors, and entreated them to "kill the dog." Upon this, the populace, like so many maniacs, rushed to the Pensioners' House, took scythes, and executed Kossuth's verdict and sentence on the spot.

Kolosy, the chief criminal, confessed, that afterwards at Komorn, Balogh had asked him to set his mind at ease on Lamberg's account, for that he (Kolosy) was not the cause of Lamberg's death, since Kossuth had instructed him (Balogh) to provide that the count should never leave the cities of Buda and Pesth. Balogh added, that on receiving these instructions, he had immediately taken measures to arrest the count in the hotel at which he had put up.

In short, there is such a striking similarity between the assassinations of the Counts Latour and Lamberg, in all that regards arrangement, execution, and means, that this similarity alone makes one believe that, in either case, it was the same hand which directed the murderer's blade.

A credible person heard, on the 13th September, Falke Buchheim addressing the populace near the Aula, and proposing to seize and to hang the two ministers, Latour and Bach. The same person declares on his oath, that on the 5th October (as we stated), Fränkel assembled the democrats at the "Sperl Hotel," and he adds, that the meeting commenced at eight P.M., and that Tausenau, Jellinek, Löwenstein, and Deutsch were present. On the following afternoon, the witness was at the Aula, and heard Tausenau and Chaisées calling upon the populace to hang the Count Latour. Upon this, they all rushed to the War Office. The same witness describes the procession of the assassins, and the delivery of the murderous weapons, and of a packet containing Latour's papers. He records the cheers and exultations, especially those of Tausenau, Fenneberg, Goldmark, Füster, Violand, and Füster, who cried out, that

this was what they had wished for; that the Hungarians would rejoice, and that the affair was worth more than a million. The assassins were received with violent cheers, and a secret sitting of the Students' Committee was held, which was attended by Tausenau, Fenneberg, and several Hungarians.

The same witness proceeded afterwards to the place of St. Stephen, where he found a deputy of the Left in the act of fraternizing with the people. He seemed but too happy to be cheered. A member of the mob showed him a bloody rag, saying, "Father, I have struck home at Latour; here is a piece of his shirt. Was I right?" And the deputy replied, "Bravo, my child! you were quite right!"

As to Füster, it is affirmed by a kitchen-maid that lived near the University building, that at 5.30 P. M. the professor had received a troop of murderers with the words, "Bravo, my children!"

Another witness of quality, whom curiosity had drawn to the Aula, describes the appearance of a young labourer who was armed with a hammer, and who made a violent speech, expressive of his desire for Latour's death. This man likewise rushed upon a prisoner, and desired his instant assassination. Witness saw the same labourer accompanying Füster as a volunteer, and, at a later period, he recognised him again as one of the murderers. He walked by the side of Jurkorich, and flourishing his hammer, he exclaimed, "We have done for Latour!"

From another source it appears, that Füster's confidential messenger (a labourer from the Bründelfeld) declared, on the evening of the 6th October, that the professor would move heaven and earth to induce the Diet either to procure or to grant an amnesty for the events of the day. The public street-bills said as much. Füster, too, is one of the two

deputies whom Adjutant Niewiadomski entreated to save Latour, to which entreaties Füster replied, that he would not meddle in the affair. That priest, when examined, showed a marvellous composure. He said he was happy that he had not complied with the request to save the life of a fellow-creature; for, exasperated as the people were, he could not, he said, prevent the crime, and his endeavours would certainly, so he thought, have been rewarded with that ingratitude which fell to his share on former occasions.

Such are Füster's statements. But different are the accounts which we have from other witnesses respecting this field-priest of the Legion, academical preacher, and professor of theology. This man, who passed his leisure hours in making ball-cartridges for his pupils, took a prominent part in all earlier street rows and storm petitions; he and his pupils influenced the labourers in the Prater on the 23rd and 25th of August; and on the 26th September he addressed an inflammatory oration to the students, and lavished his most violent abuse upon Latour and Bach. He was intimately acquainted with Pulszky, Schütte, and other Hungarian and foreign agents. In October he concerted almost daily with labourers, perjured soldiers, and insurgent students; and to those who were loudest and most vehement in their declarations and protests, he made presents of two or three silver "zwanzieger." Besides, he frequently had secret consultations with Becher, Jellinek, Löwenstein, Deutsch, and other persons.

Early on the 6th October he was seen leaving the Students' Committee with a troop of armed youths. He shook hands with those that were proceeding to the Tabor, and he wished them good speed. He was afterwards seen at the Tabor, and the students say that early that morning he urged the grenadiers at Gumpendorf to resist the order to march,

while, a few hours afterwards, at the Tabor, he excited his "dear boys," the students, and directed them to aim at General Bredy.

A certain witness heard Füster at midnight and during the assault upon the arsenal, addressing the incendiaries on the bastions, and extolling "this victorious day as the most glorious in history;" and a milliner deposes that on the morning of the 7th October, she saw Mr. Füster in St. Stephen's Place, quarrelling with a student about the events of the day before. These events, it appeared, fell short of the professor's expectations, and witness heard plainly, that the student, in answer to his recriminations, protested that they (the students) had twice committed arson.

Füster's later deeds are worthy of this conduct. He joined Violand, Kudlich, Gritzner, Fenneberg, Blum, and Bem in their endeavours to sustain the defence by speeches, advice, hopes of Hungarian help, arrangements for summoning the Landsturm, lighting of the barricades, opening of windows, ringing the tocsin, and even by taking the sword and proceeding to the field. He was one of the most active and dangerous agitators of the revolutionary party, and he was evidently intent upon gaining the favour and confidence of youth, by the most disgraceful means of seduction, for the purpose of forming them into a prætorian guard for the accomplishment of his selfish purposes.

In the first series of his evidence he calls himself the scapegoat of the Legion. He regrets that ever since August the Legion has, by the ultra-democrats, been misled into false measures, but that he (Füster) had been inactive during that time, although he might, now and then, have paid a visit to the barricades, but merely from curiosity, and because he was fond of large crowds. He boasts, moreover, of having in July refused to listen to an Hungarian who

came to him with certain proposals. He would not state what these proposals were.

As for Tausenau, we have some characteristic features of him, as recorded in the evidence of one of his confidential friends. This friend describes a secret sitting, which was held * in Chaisée's apartments in the hotel "Zur Ente." The persons present were, Tausenau, Chaisées, Schütte, Becher, Jellinek, Eckardt, Habrowsky, Fenneberg, Unterschild, and an Hungarian, whom witness took for Csarnatoug.

The proceedings were opened by Tausenau, who informed the assembly that it was absolutely necessary for them to act offensively, and to prepare for further acts of popular justice; and after having abused the common council, "in which there are but five persons on whom we can rely," he proceeded: "Since we found it so easy to get rid of Latour, I am sure we shall deal much more easily with the others. I demand only the heads, and the rest of my list as hostages. In this I have my own plan, and I'll communicate it by bits. But, gentlemen! no lukewarmness!—no half-measures! If we don't hang them, they will certainly hang us. On the 6th October, already I remarked something like lukewarmness, disobedience, and cowardice!"

On the following day, Tausenau and Chaisées talked to the witness in private. Tausenau told him that they must needs outstrip the plans of the "reaction;" and that he proposed to protect the town by means of four companies of labourers, which would bear the name of the "democratic corps." Of this corps witness was offered the command, and Chaisées was to act as purser. He also gave witness a list of names, adding, that the persons whose names had been marked with a cross, ought to be hanged; and he promised to furnish eight trusty men for the purpose of executing the said per-

* On the 8th October.

sons. Several of the persons so doomed were named by witness at the trial. On this occasion, Tausenau confessed that he had caused Latour to be hanged, to intimidate the "reaction" and the troops, but that the affair had fallen short of his expectations, since it had been his original intention to "strike them all at one blow."

On the 12th October, the same witness had a conversation with Kudlich, whom he met at Messenhauser's head-quarters. Kudlich regretted that Tausenau and Chaisées had induced him to assist them in the murder of Latour.

On another occasion, witness was told by Kudlich and Füster that Tausenau had got them into a scrape by the murder. Kudlich said: "I am losing my popularity;" and Füster remarked, "the few have spoiled the whole affair." Goldmark, who joined them, agreed with Kudlich, who protested, those *three* persons ought to have been given up to the people, and if not those three, then none at all. By these words he alluded to Latour, Mr. Bach, and the Archduchess Sophia.

The above is a summary of the evidence respecting Tausenau and his set, as deposed before the court-martial. But the Vienna Criminal Court, too, has amassed a bulk of evidence, which, in itself, would be enough to inculpate Tausenau of treason, and active co-operation to the murder of the Secretary at War.

Numerous witnesses, whose evidence was taken by the Criminal Court, prove that Charles Tausenau, M.D., vice-president of the Association of the Friends of the People, and president of the Democratic Central Committee, an ambitious but profligate and dissolute person, entered into an intimate alliance with the Hungarian democrats; and that the assassination of Count Latour resulted from this alliance. His connection with the Hungarians is especially shown by

the event of the torch serenade, which the Vienna democrats, on the 19th September, brought to the Hungarian deputation, at the Frankfort Hotel, and by the events of the supper, which followed this demonstration, the expenses of which were paid by the Hungarian deputy Balogh, with a sum of forty-three florins.

Tausenau, who took the chair at the supper, used the most revolting expressions in his attempts to demonstrate the necessity of an annihilation of the dynasty of the Camarilla, and especially of the ministers, whom he designated as traitors and rascals. So disgusting was his language, that several of the persons present left the room. He also cast the most violent and filthy aspersions on the Pragmatic Sanction, which he mentioned as a "wretched piece of musty parchment." He said, that the aspirations of Hungary ought to be supported, its power increased, while Austria ought to be humbled, and that the democrats would do their part towards that object. All obstacles ought to be ruthlessly removed, and all existing institutions ought to be overthrown.

Chaisées, Balogh, and Violand, spoke in the same spirit. Violand promised that the Left of the Frankfort Parliament would support Tausenau's views, and that he corresponded with Frankfort.

Nor ought it to be forgotten, that Count L. Batthyany, the Hungarian premier, who lived in the same hotel, quitted Vienna in the night of the 5th October; that Tausenau, Gritzner, and Häfner, frequently conversed with him, and with the Hungarian deputy Tzirmay; and that the Hungarians, previous to their departure, exchanged their black feathers for purple cockades.

But far more important in the preparations of the murder, are Tausenau's speeches at the democratic meetings in the

Odeon Hall, on the 10th, 24th, and 30th September. There, in the presence of from 4,000 to 10,000 persons, he publicly, unblushingly, and with a kind of frenzy, called for the death of the wretched Secretary at War. Several witnesses deposed that they shuddered on hearing him, and that they left the place in horror and disgust, while others believed that the speaker was mad. One of them felt it his duty to warn Count Latour, and this warning caused an inquiry against Tausenau, the course of which was interrupted by the events of the 6th October.

At the Odeon meeting, on the 24th September, Dr. Schütte inculcated the necessity of imposing taxes upon the rich and wealthy, and Jellinek advocated a republic. Willner, *alias* the King of the Labourers, praised the glorious deeds of the Peasant War, and addressing the peasants then and there assembled, he desired that they should imitate so bright an example for liberty's sake, while Chaisée's denouncing the aristocracy and the "reaction," sought to induce the labourers to make a revolution.

After these preliminaries, Tausenau ascended the tribune. He accused the Government of oppressing freedom in Hungary; he alluded to the recent murder of Lichnowsky and Auerswald, at Frankfort; and he mentioned these atrocities with a certain complacency; and, turning to the affairs of Austria, he pointed out that there, too, the popular cause was opposed by Latour, Bach, Jellacic, Windischgrätz, and Radetzky; and that these obstacles ought to be removed at any price. He exhorted the people to prepare for the contest, and he concluded by exclaiming, "These dogs must all be hanged!" alluding especially to Latour, whom, foaming with rage, he called an aristocrat, and whom he addressed, as though present, with the most disgusting invectives. The National Guards, students, peasants, and labourers, who listened to

this speech, drowned its conclusion in deafening cheers, and the cry, "Down with Latour!"

These facts are confirmed by the culprit Johl, who has since been sentenced.

The meeting of the 30th September consisted of from 3,000 to 4,000 National Guards and students. Tausenau introduced himself to them in his quality of president of the Central Democratic Association, and he said that he would answer to the expectations of his electors. Alluding next to the last sitting of the Diet, and to Mr. Borrosch's motion on the intercepted correspondence between the Ban and Latour, whom he vilely abused, he stated that the Secretary at War had allowed the Ban 280,000 florins for the keep of the Croatian troops, and, slapping his pockets, he exclaimed, with unparalleled effrontery, "This, gentlemen, is our own money; it is money from our own purse!" He next called Latour a traitor to the people and to freedom, and shouted most violently, "Damn this aristocrat! Down with this aristocrat!" In the course of his speech he repeated these exclamations, and the cry was taken up by the infatuated mob.

The very women were entreated by Tausenau to assist in the construction of barricades.

A witness to whom all credit is due, and who attended four Odeon meetings, deposes that he cannot recollect all the speeches of Tausenau, although he remembers that they were all calculated to excite animosity against Latour. Nevertheless, he protests, that he can never forget the manner in which this agitator hissed like a hyæna (such is the witness's expression) the following words: "You will see, one fine morning, not only Latour will be dead, but other distinguished ladies and gentlemen will be dead—stark dead—and stone dead!" And, by his oratory tricks, he induced the

whole meeting of 10,000 persons to break out into a horrible and far-sounding death-whoop against Latour.

When the intercepted letters of the Secretary at War were published in the Radical papers, Tausenau read these letters to the Odeon meeting, and by these means he produced an unfavourable impression against the count.

In the first half of October, Tausenau said, in a conversation with a female witness, that it was he who had caused the events of the 6th, and on witness lamenting the death of Count Latour, Tausenau protested that the b——r was not worthy of compassion; he had justly been hanged, and if the people's cause conquered, the fellow would not be the last whom they hanged.

Another witness states that at noon on the 6th October he saw a large crowd at the guard-house near the War Office. He also saw that a member of the Legion seized the officer on duty, saying: "Are you for the people? speak out, and sheath your sword." The officer was then surrounded and protected by several bystanders, and another member of the Legion called out: "Now, do be reasonable, Tausenau!"

It appears from the evidence of other persons that, in the latter half of October, Tausenau left Vienna, and that he had a large sum of money in his possession; that at Presburg he consulted with Kossuth and Csany; that he sent an engineer to Vienna with a message to Messenhauser; and that after the battle of Schwechat, he accompanied Kossuth to Pesth. At Pesth he lived in the same house with L. Hank, and spent large sums of money. Unterschild sent him for letters from Vienna; Kossuth gave him his fullest confidence, and called frequently to see him; and he was very intimate with Pulszky, Balogh, and Madaran. He went to all the clubs, made inflammatory speeches, and by

Pulszky's mediation he kept up a correspondence with M. Engelmann, the president of the Democratic Association at Breslau. After the battle of Raab he received 1,000 florins from Pulszky, and with this sum he proceeded to Breslau, for the purpose of revolutionizing that city. Reasons, however, which have not transpired, induced him to leave Breslau on the 12th March, 1849. He went to Paris.

In one of his speeches, held at Pesth, he said: "They accuse us of having caused the death of Latour. I swear, by the ashes of my murdered brethren, that such an idea never entered my head. The hatred of the people pursued him, for they knew him; and to make him known to the people, this, I protest, was our most sacred duty."

It need scarcely be mentioned that the evidence against the originators of the murder was obtained gradually, and in the course of a lengthened inquiry. This circumstance explains why certain members of the Diet were enabled to make their escape at a time when the authorities were not, in law, justified in procuring their arrest.

SUMMARY.

WHOEVER considers the results of this statement, which we have compiled from official sources, must feel convinced that the murder of the Secretary at War, Count Latour, was well considered, planned, and prepared, and that the crime was perpetrated for the purpose of removing a man from his sphere of action, whose intelligence, intrepidity, and constitutionalism, secured him the respect of his sovereign, the confidence of the army, and the affection of all loyal citizens, and who, by his manly defence of his political principles, had

become odious to an ill-favoured and ill-matched popular representation.

At a time when the secret associations of Europe, relying on their own strength, came forth from the night of mystery, to work by the most disgraceful means the overthrow of all, and even of the constitutional governments of Europe, to construct on the ruins of states, their chimeras of a German, Gallic, or Slavonic republic ; at a time when these men came forward to captivate the rude and unintellectual masses of the people, by inflaming their desire for the property of the rich, by estranging them from the blessings of religion, and by annihilating the most sacred bonds of nature : at such a time it was natural that the anarchists, acting upon their old principle, that the means are sanctified by the end, sought to remove every man whose energy and principles they had reason to fear, thereby terrorizing the government and their adherents.

The forcible separation of Hungary and Upper Italy from Austria was resolved upon by the revolutionary committee, for the purpose of isolating the latter country, and of thus consigning it to the torrent of the republican movement. These were the tendencies which Count Latour unmasked and opposed. His patriotism was his crime, and the members of the opposition of the Austrian Diet, and the venal advocates of the Magyar insurrection, gave him up to an infatuated people, whom they assured that he was a traitor to their dearest interests.

The friends of this victim of the party of destruction remember that when Count Lamberg left Vienna to proceed on his mission for the pacification of Hungary, Count Latour addressed him with a foreboding of the fate which was in store for him, saying : " It is not likely that we shall meet again, but duty and honour command us to resign ourselves to our fate."

The events at Pesth and Vienna show the truth of this prediction. Already had the bloodthirsty hydra of Radicalism struck the firstborn of its hatred at Frankfort as well as at Rome.

It is beyond our present task to prove, from a mass of official documents, the progressive connection of these horrors of our own days with various earlier attempts against the lives of legal servants of the state, and even of crowned heads. Still, it is worthy of remark, that all the attempts to assassinate the last constitutional king of France were fostered in the lap of these secret societies to which we have alluded, and that the final overthrow of that prince became the signal for a well-organized insurrection of all the Radical associations of Europe, and that it was meant to be, so to say, the blast from the trumpet of death for all the champions of social order.

It may indeed appear miraculous that the leaders of the propaganda succeeded in imposing upon the good sense and the natural discernment of the loyal citizens of Vienna, whose patriotism, in the years 1800, 1805, and 1809, is upon record. And certain it is, that they and their descendants will shudder to think that Ferdinand, the benevolent, the generous donor of the form of government which his subjects desired, has twice been compelled to fly from their city, and that his energetic Minister of War, who loved progress, but who opposed the dissolution of Austria, was most disgracefully and cruelly murdered, amidst the armed and once loyal citizens of the Austrian capital.

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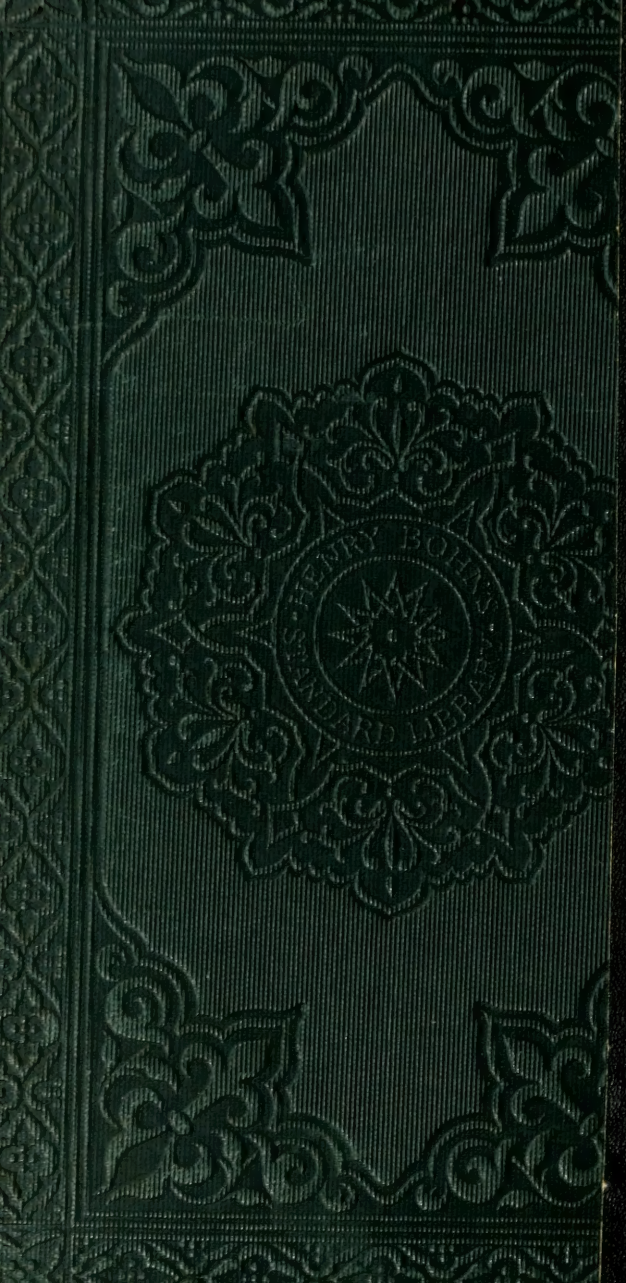
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